

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Seventy-five years have passed since Lingard completed his HISTORY OF ENGLAND, which ends with the Revolution of 1688. During that period historical study has made a great advance. Year after year the mass of materials for a new History of England has increased; new lights have been thrown on events and characters, and old errors have been corrected. Many notable works have been written on various periods of our history; some of them at such length as to appeal almost exclusively to professed historical students. It is believed that the time has come when the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole should be laid before the public in a single work of fairly adequate size. Such a book should be founded on independent thought and research, but should at the same time be written with a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians and with a desire to take advantage of their teaching wherever it appears sound.

The vast number of authorities, printed and in manuscript, on which a History of England should be based, if it is to represent the existing state of knowledge, renders co-operation almost necessary and certainly advisable. The History, of which this volume is an instalment, is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research. It will consist of twelve volumes by twelve different writers, each

of them chosen as being specially capable of dealing with the period which he undertakes, and the editors, while leaving to each author as free a hand as possible, hope to insure a general similarity in method of treatment, so that the twelve volumes may in their contents, as well as in their outward appearance, form one History.

As its title imports, this History will primarily deal with politics, with the History of England and, after the date of the union with Scotland, Great Britain, as a state or body politic; but as the life of a nation is complex, and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social, and economic progress will also find place in these volumes. The footnotes will, so far as is possible, be confined to references to authorities, and references will not be appended to statements which appear to be matters of common knowledge and do not call for support. Each volume will have an Appendix giving some account of the chief authorities, original and secondary, which the author has used. This account will be compiled with a view of helping students rather than of making long lists of books without any notes as to their contents or value. That the History will have faults both of its own and such as will always in some measure attend co-operative work, must be expected, but no pains have been spared to make it, so far as may be, not wholly unworthy of the greatness of its subject.

Each volume, while forming part of a complete History, will also in itself be a separate and complete book, will be sold separately, and will have its own index, and two or more maps.

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The Political History of England

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

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III.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND
FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III. TO THE
DEATH OF EDWARD III.

1216-1377

ENTR'D

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III.
TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD III.

(1216-1377)

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BY

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REGENCY OF WILLIAM MARSHAL.

	PAGE
19 Oct., 1216. Death of King John	1
Position of parties	1
The Church on the king's side	2
28 Oct. Coronation of Henry III.	3
11 Nov. Great council at Bristol	4
12 Nov. The first charter of Henry III.	5
1216-17. Progress of the war	6
1217. Rising of Wilkin of the Weald	7
Louis' visit to France	8
22 April. Return of Louis from France	9
Sieges of Dover, Farnham, and Mount Sorrel	9
20 May. The fair of Lincoln	10
23 Aug. The sea-fight off Sandwich	11
11 Sept. Treaty of Lambeth	12
6 Nov. Reissue of the great charter	13
• Restoration of order by William Marshal	14
14 May, 1219. Death of William Marshal	15
His character and career	15

CHAPTER II.

THE RULE OF HUBERT DE BURGH.

1219. Pandulf the real successor of William Marshal	17
July, 1221. Langton procures Pandulf's recall	19
Ascendancy of Hubert de Burgh	20
Jan.-Feb., 1221. The rebellion of Albemarle	20
July, 1222. The sedition of Constantine FitzAthulf	22
1221-24. Marriage alliances	23
1219-23. War in Wales	23
April, 1223. Henry III. declared by the pope competent to govern	24
June, 1224. Revolt of Falkes de Bréauté	25
20 June-14 Aug. Siege of Bedford	25
Fall of Falkes	26
Papal and royal taxation	27

	PAGE
April, 1227. End of the minority	29
Relations with France during the minority	29
The Lusignans and the Poitevin barons	30
1224. Louis VIII.'s conquest of Poitou	31
1225. Expedition of Richard of Cornwall and William Longsword to Gascony	32
Nov., 1226. Accession of Louis IX. in France	34
1229-30. Henry III.'s campaign in Brittany and Poitou	34
21-30 July, 1230. Siege of Mirambeau	36
1228. The Kerry campaign	37
2 May, 1230. Death of William of Braose	38
1231. Henry III.'s second Welsh campaign	38
Aug. Death of Archbishop Richard le Grand	39
Gregory IX. and Henry III.	39
1232. Riots of Robert Twenge	39
-9 July. Fall of Hubert de Burgh	40
1231. Death of William Marshal the Younger	41
1232. Death of Randolph of Blundeville, Earl of Chester	41

CHAPTER III.

THE ALIEN INVASION.

1232-34. Rule of Peter des Roches	43
Aug., 1233. Revolt of Richard Marshal	45
25 Nov. Fight near Monmouth	47
1234. Richard Marshal in Ireland	48
1 April. Defeat and death of the Earl Marshal near Kildare	49
2 April. Edmund Rich consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury	50
9 April. Fall of Peter des Roches	51
Beginning of Henry III.'s personal government	51
Character of Henry III.	52
The alien invasions	53
14 Jan., 1236. Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence	54
The Savoyards in England	54
Revival of Poitevin influence	55
1239. Simon of Montfort Earl of Leicester	56
1237. The legation of Cardinal Otto	57
1239. Quarrel of Gregory IX. and Frederick II.	58
1235. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln	59
16 Nov., 1240. Death of Edmund Rich in exile	60
Henry III. and Frederick II.	61
Attempted reconquest of Poitou	62
May-Sept., 1242. The campaign of Taillebourg	63
1243. Truce with France	64
The Lusignans in England	65
The baronial opposition	66
Grosseteste's opposition to Henry III. and Innocent IV.	66

	PAGE
1243. Relations with Scotland and Wales	67
1240. Death of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth	67
1246. Death of David ap Llewelyn	68

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL RETROGRESSION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS.

1248-58. Characteristics of the history of these ten years	69
Decay of Henry's power in Gascony	69
1248-52. Simon de Montfort, seneschal of Gascony	70
Aug., 1253. Henry III. in Gascony	72
1254. Marriage and establishment of Edward the king's son	73
Edward's position in Gascony	73
Edward's position in Cheshire	74
1254. Llewelyn ap Griffith sole Prince of North Wales	75
Edward in the four cantreds and in West Wales	76
1257. Welsh campaign of Henry and Edward	76
Revival of the baronial opposition	77
1255. Candidature of Edmund, the king's son, for Sicily	78
1257. Richard of Cornwall elected and crowned King of the Romans	80
Leicester as leader of the opposition	81
Progress in the age of Henry III.	81
The cosmopolitan and the national ideals	82
French influence	83
The coming of the friars	84
1221. Gilbert of Freynet and the first Dominicans in England	84
• 1224. Arrival of Agnellus of Pisa and the first Franciscans in England	84
Other mendicant orders in England	85
The influence of the friars	86
The universities	88
• Prominent English schoolmen	89
Paris and Oxford	90
The mendicants at Oxford	91
Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus	92
Academic influence in public life	92
Beginnings of colleges	93
Intellectual characteristics of thirteenth century	93
Literature in Latin and French	94
Literature in English	95
Art	96
Gothic architecture	96
The towns and trade	97

CHAPTER V.

THE BARONS' WAR.

		PAGE
2 April, 1258.	Parliament at London	98
11 June.	The Mad Parliament	99
	The Provisions of Oxford	100
22 June.	Flight of the Lusignans	102
	Appointment of the Fifteen	103
	Working of the new Constitution	104
4 Dec., 1259.	Treaty of Paris	104
	Its unpopularity in England and France	106
1259.	Dissensions among the baronial leaders	107
1259.	Provisions of Westminster	108
1261.	Henry III.'s repudiation of the Provisions	109
1263.	Reconstitution of parties	110
	The changed policy of the marchers	111
	Outbreak of civil war	112
	The appeal to Louis IX.	112
23 Jan., 1264.	Mise of Amiens	113
	Renewal of the struggle	113
4 April.	Sack of Northampton	114
	The campaign in Kent and Sussex	115
14 May.	Battle of Lewes	116
	Personal triumph of Montfort	118

CHAPTER VI.

THE RULE OF MONTFORT AND THE ROYALIST RESTORATION.

15 May.	Mise of Lewes	119
15 Dec.	Provisions of Worcester	121
Jan.-Mar., 1265.	The Parliament of 1265	121
	Split up of the baronial party	123
	Quarrel of Leicester and Gloucester	123
28 May.	Edward's escape	124
22 June.	Treaty of Pierton	125
	Small results of the alliance of Llewelyn and the barons	125
	The campaign in the Severn valley	126
4 Aug.	Battle of Evesham	127
	The royalist restoration	128
1266.	The revolt of the Disinherited	129
15 May.	Battle of Chesterfield	130
31 Oct.	The <i>Dictum de Kenilworth</i>	131
Michaelmas.	The Ely rebellion	131
April, 1267.	Gloucester's support of the Disinherited	132
July.	End of the rebellion	132
25 Sept.	Treaty of Shrewsbury	133
1267.	Statute of Marlborough	134
1270-72.	Edward's Crusade	134
16 Nov., 1272.	Death of Henry III.	135

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY FOREIGN POLICY AND LEGISLATION OF EDWARD I.

	PAGE
Character of Edward I.	136
1272-74. Rule of the regency	139
Edward's doings in Italy and France	139
Edward's relations with Philip III.	140
1273-74. Wars of Béarn and Limoges	141
Edward I. and Gregory X.	142
May-July, 1274. Council of Lyons	142
Relations of Edward I. and Rudolf of Hapsburg	143
23 May, 1279. Treaty of Amiens	145
1281. League of Mâcon	146
1282. Sicilian vespers	146
1285. Deaths of Philip III., Charles of Anjou, Peter of Aragon, and Martin IV.	146
Bishop Burnell	147
1275. Statute of Westminster, the first	147
1278. Statute of Gloucester	148
Hundred Rolls and <i>placita de quo warranto</i>	149
Archbishops Kilwardby and Peckham	150
1279. Statute of Mortmain	151
1285. <i>Circumspecte agatis</i>	152
1285. Statute of Westminster, the second (<i>De Donis</i>)	153
1285. Statute of Winchester	154

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF NORTH WALES.

Execution of the Treaty of Shrewsbury	155
1277. Llewelyn's refusal of homage	156
1277. Edward's first Welsh campaign	157
1277. Treaty of Aberconway	159
Edward's attempts to introduce English law into the ceded districts	160
1282. The Welsh revolt	161
1282. Edward's second Welsh campaign	162
Llewelyn's escape to the Upper Wye	163
11 Dec. Battle of Orewyn Bridge	164
1283. Parliaments and financial expedients	164
Subjection of Gwynedd completed	165
3 Oct. Parliament of Shrewsbury and execution of David	165
The Edwardian castles	165
Mid-Lent, 1284. Statute of Wales	166
Effect of the conquest upon the march	167
Peckham and the ecclesiastical settlement of Wales	167
1287. Revolt of Rhys ap Meredith	168

CHAPTER IX.

THE SICILIAN AND THE SCOTTISH ARBITRATIONS.

	PAGE	
April, 1286-Aug., 1289.	Edward I. at the height of his fame	169
	Edward's long visit to France	170
	The Sicilian arbitration	170
1287.	Treaty of Oloron	171
1288.	Treaty of Canfranc	171
1291.	Treaty of Tarascon	171
	Maladministration during Edward's absence	172
	Judicial and official scandals	172
1289.	Special commission for the trial of offenders	172
1290.	Statute of Westminster, the third (<i>Quia emptores</i>)	173
	The feud between Gloucester and Hereford	174
1291.	The courts at Ystradvellle and Abergavenny	174
	Humiliation of the marcher earls	174
1290.	Expulsion of the Jews	175
	The rise of the Italian bankers	176
1272-86.	Early relations of Edward to Scotland	177
1286.	Death of Alexander III. of Scotland	177
1286-89.	Regency in the name of the Maid of Norway	177
1289.	Treaty of Salisbury	178
1290.	Treaty of Brigham	178
	Death of the Maid of Norway	179
	The claimants to the Scottish throne	179
May, 1291.	Parliament of Norham. Edward recognised as over-lord of Scotland	181
1291-92.	The great suit for Scotland	181
17 Nov., 1292.	John Balliol declared King of Scots	183
	Edward's conduct in relation to Scotland	183
1290.	Death of Eleanor of Castile	184
	Transition to the later years of the reign	184
	Edward's later ministers	185

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH AND SCOTTISH WARS AND THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS.

15 May, 1293.	Commercial rivalry of English and French seamen	186
	Battle off Saint-Mahé	186
1294.	Edmund of Lancaster's failure to procure a settlement with Philip IV.	187
	The French occupation of Gascony	187
June, 1294.	War with France	188
	Preparations for a French campaign	188
1294.	Revolts of Madog, Maelgwn, and Morgan	189
	Edward's danger at Aberconway	189
22 Jan., 1295.	Battle of Maes Madog	190
July.	Welsh revolts suppressed	190

1295.	Failure of the Gascon campaign	191
	Failure of attempted coalition against France	191
	Organisation of the English navy	192
	Treason of Sir Thomas Turberville	192
	The naval attack on England	192
	Rupture between Edward and the Scots	193
5 July.	Alliance between the French and Scots	194
Nov.	The "Model Parliament"	195
1296.	Gascon expedition and death of Edmund of Lancaster	196
	Edward's invasion of Scotland	196
27 April.	Battle of Dunbar	197
10 July.	Submission of John Balliol	197
	Conquest and administration of Scotland	198
	The Ragman Roll	198
Sept., 1294.	Consecration of Archbishop Winchelsea	199
29 Feb., 1296.	Boniface VIII. issues <i>Clericis laicos</i>	200
	Conflict of Edward and Winchelsea	200
24 Feb., 1297.	Parliament at Salisbury	202
	Conflict of Edward with the earls	202
July.	Break up of the clerical opposition	203
	Increasing moderation of baronial opposition	204
24 Aug.	Edward's departure for Flanders	205
May.	Revolt of the Scots under William Wallace	205
11 Sept.	Battle of Stirling Bridge	207
12 Oct.	Confirmation of the charters with new clauses	208

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCOTTISH FAILURE.

1297.	Edward's unsuccessful campaign in Flanders	210
31 Jan., 1298.	Truce of Tournai, and end of the French war	211
July.	Edward's invasion of Scotland	212
22 July.	Battle of Falkirk	213
	Slowness of Edward's progress towards the conquest of Scotland	215
19 June, 1299.	Treaty of Montreuil	216
9 Sept.	Marriage of Edward and Margaret of France	217
Mar., 1300.	<i>Articuli super cartas</i>	217
July-Aug.	Carlaverock campaign	218
20 Jan. - 14 Feb.,	Parliament of Lincoln	218
1301.	The barons' letter to the pope	219
	Edward of Carnarvon, Prince of Wales	220
1302.	Philip IV.'s troubles with the Flemings and Boniface VIII.	221
20 May, 1303.	Peace of Paris between Edward and Philip	222
	Increasing strength of Edward's position	222
	The decay of the earldoms	223
	Additions to the royal demesne	224
1303.	Conquest of Scotland seriously undertaken	225

	PAGE
24 July, 1304. Capture of Stirling	225
Aug., 1305. Execution of Wallace and completion of the conquest	226
1305. The settlement of the government of Scotland	227
1305. Disgrace of Winchelsea and Bek	228
1307. Edward I. and Clement V.	230
1307. Statute of Carlisle	230
1305. Ordinance of Trailbaston	231
10 Jan., 1306. Murder of Comyn	232
25 Mar. Rising of Robert Bruce	233
25 Mar. Bruce crowned King of Scots	233
7 July, 1307. Preparations for a fresh conquest of Scotland	234
7 July, 1307. Death of Edward I.	235

CHAPTER XII.

GAVESTON, THE ORDAINERS, AND BANNOCKBURN.

Character of Edward II.	236
1307. Peter Gaveston Earl of Cornwall	238
25 Jan., 1308. Marriage of Edward with Isabella of France	239
25 Feb. Coronation of Edward II.	239
Power and unpopularity of Gaveston	240
18 May. Gaveston exiled	241
July, 1309. Return of Gaveston condoned by Parliament at Stamford	242
1310. Renewal of the opposition of the barons to Gaveston	243
16 Mar. Appointment of the lords ordainers	244
Sept. Abortive campaign against the Scots	245
1311. Character and policy of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster	245
1311. The ordinances	247
Nov., 1311, Jan., 1312. Gaveston's second exile and return	249
1312. The earls at war against Edward and Gaveston	250
Gaveston's surrender at Scarborough	250
19 June, 1312. Murder of Gaveston	251
Consequent break up of the baronial party	252
Oct., 1313. Edward and Lancaster reconciled	253
May. Death of Archbishop Winchelsea	254
1312. Fall of the Templars	254
Walter Reynolds Archbishop of Canterbury	256
Complaints of papal abuses	256
Progress of Bruce's power in Scotland	257
1314. The siege of Stirling	258
An army collected for its relief	259
24 June. Battle of Bannockburn	260
The results of the battle	262

CHAPTER XIII.

LANCASTER, PEMBROKE, AND THE DESPENSERS.

Failure of the rule of Thomas of Lancaster	264
1315. Revolts of Llewelyn Bren	267

	PAGE
1315. Rising of Adam Banaster	267
1316. The Bristol disturbances	268
1315. Edward Bruce's attack on the English in Ireland	268
1317. Roger Mortimer in Ireland	271
1318. Death of Edward Bruce at Dundalk	272
Lancaster's failure and the break up of his party	272
Pembroke and the middle party	273
9 Aug. Treaty of Leek and the supremacy of the middle party	274
1314-18. Progress of Robert Bruce	275
1319. Renewed attack on Scotland	275
Battle of Myton	276
Rise of the Despensers	277
1317. The partition of the Gloucester inheritance	279
1320. War between the husbands of the Gloucester heiresses in South Wales	280
June, 1321. Conferences at Pontefract and Sherburn	281
July. The exile of the Despensers	281
Break up of the opposition after their victory	282
23-31 Oct., 1321. The siege of Leeds Castle	282
Jan.-Feb., 1322. Edward's successful campaign in the march	284
11 Feb. Recall of the Despensers	284
The king's march against the northern barons	284
16 Mar. Battle of Boroughbridge	285
22 Mar. Execution of Lancaster	286
2 May. Parliament at York and repeal of the ordinances	287
The triumph of the Despensers	288

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FALL OF EDWARD II. AND THE RULE OF ISABELLA AND MORTIMER.

Aug. Renewed attack on the Scots	289
Oct. Edward II.'s narrow escape at Byland	289
Mar., 1323. Treason and execution of Andrew Harclay	290
• Incapacity of the Despensers as administrators	290
• Their quarrels with the old nobles	290
1324. Their breach with Queen Isabella	291
Their chief helpers: Walter Stapledon and Ralph Baldock	292
Reaction against the Despensers	293
1303-14. Relations of England and France	294
1314-22. Edward's dealings with Louis X. and Philip V.	294
1322. Accession of Charles IV.	295
1324. Affair of Saint-Sardos	295
Renewal of war. Sequestration of Gascony. Charles of Valois' conquest of the Agenais and La Réole	296
• Isabella's mission to Paris	297
Edward of Aquitaine's homage to Charles IV.	297
1325. Treachery of Charles IV. and second sequestration of Gascony	297

	PAGE
1326. Relations of Mortimer and Isabella	298
The Hainault marriage	298
23 Sept. Landing of Isabella and Mortimer	299
Riots in London: murder of Stapledon	299
26 Oct. Execution of the elder Despenser	300
16 Nov. Capture of Edward and the younger Despenser	300
Triumph of the revolution	301
7 Jan., 1327. Parliament's recognition of Edward of Aquitaine as king	301
20 Jan. Edward II.'s resignation of the crown	302
24 Jan. Proclamation of Edward III.	302
22 Sept., 1328. Murder of Edward II.	303
1327-30. Rule of Isabella and Mortimer	304
1327. Abortive Scottish campaign	304
April, 1328. Treaty of Northampton: "the shameful peace"	305
Character and ambition of Mortimer	306
Oct. Mortimer Earl of the March of Wales	306
Henry of Lancaster's opposition to him	307
Mar., 1330. Execution of the Earl of Kent	307
Oct. Parliament at Nottingham	308
19 Oct. Arrest of Mortimer	308
29 Nov. His execution	309
1330-58. Later life of Isabella	309

CHAPTER XV.

THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

Character and policy of Edward III.	310
1330-40. The rule of the Stratfords	314
1337. The new earldoms	314
Scotland during the minority of David Bruce	315
Edward Balliol and the Disinherited	315
6 Aug., 1332. The Disinherited in Scotland	317
Battle of Dupplin Moor	318
6 Aug.-16 Dec. Edward Balliol's brief reign and expulsion	319
Treaty of Roxburgh	319
1333. Attempt to procure his restoration	319
Siege of Berwick	319
19 July. Battle of Halidon Hill	320
Edward Balliol restored	320
12 June, 1334. Treaty of Newcastle, ceding to Edward south-eastern Scotland	321
Failure of Edward Balliol	322
1334-36. Edward III.'s Scottish campaigns	322
1341. Return of David Bruce from France	323
1327-37. Relations of England and France	323
31 Mar., 1327. Treaty of Paris	324
Edward's lands in Gascony after the treaty of Paris	324
1328. Accession of Philip of Valois in France	325
Protests of the English regency	325

	PAGE
1328. The legal and political aspects of the succession question	326
Edward III.'s claim to France	327
6 June, 1329. Edward's homage to Philip VI.	327
8 May, 1330. Convention of the Wood of Vincennes	328
9 Mar., 1331. Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye	328
April. Interview of Pont-Sainte-Maxence	328
Crusading projects of John XXII.	329
1336. Abandonment of the crusade by Benedict XII.	329
Strained relations between England and France	330
1337. Mission of the Cardinals Peter and Bertrand	330
Edward and Robert of Artois	330
The <i>Vow of the Heron</i>	331
Preparations for war	381
Breach with Flanders and stoppage of export of wool	332
Alliance with William I. and II. of Hainault	332
Edward's other Netherlandish allies	332
1337. Breach between France and England	333
Nov. Sir Walter Manny at Cadzand	334
Fruitless negotiations and further hostilities	334
July, 1338. Edward III.'s departure for Flanders	335
5 Sept Interview of Edward and the Emperor Louis of Bavaria at Coblenz	335
The Anglo-imperial alliance	335
Further fruitless negotiations	336
Renewal of Edward's claim to the French crown	337
The responsibility for the war	337

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1339. Edward's invasion of France	339
Oct. Campaign of the Thiérache	340
23 Oct. The failure at Buronfosse	340
• Alliance between Edward and the Flemish cities	341
James van Artevelde	342
Jan., 1340. Edward III. at Ghent	343
His proclamation as King of France	344
20 Feb. His return to England	344
22 June. His re-embarkation for Flanders	344
Parallel naval development of England and France	344
The Norman navy and the projected invasion of England	345
24 June Battle of Sluys	346
• Ineffective campaigns in Artois and the Tournaisis	347
25 Sept. Truce of Esplechin	348
30 Nov. Edward's return to London	349
The ministers displaced and a special commission appointed to try them	349

	PAGE
30 Nov. Controversy between Edward and Archbishop Stratford	350
23 April, 1341. Parliament at London supporting Stratford and forcing Edward to choose ministers after consulting it	350
1 Oct. Edward's repudiation of his concessions	351
April, 1343. Repeal of the statutes of 1341	351
John of Montfort and Charles of Blois claim the duchy of Brittany	352
War of the Breton succession	353
June, 1342. The siege of Hennebont raised	354
1342. Battle of Morlaix	354
19 Jan., 1343. Edward III. in Brittany	354
Truce of Malestroit	355
Edward's financial and political troubles	355
End of the Flemish alliance	356
June, 1345. Henry of Derby in Gascony	357
21 Oct. Battle of Auberoche	358
1346. Siege of Aiguillon and raid in Poitou	358
Preparations for Edward III.'s campaign	359
July-Aug. The march through Normandy	359
26 July. Capture of Caen	360
Aug. The march up the Seine valley	360
" The retreat northwards	361
" The passage of the Somme at the <i>Blanche taque</i>	361
26 Aug. Battle of Crecy	362
17 Oct. Battle of Neville's Cross	364
4 Sept. Siege of Calais	366
3 Aug., 1347. Capture of Calais	367
20 June. Battle of La Roche Derrien	368
28 Sept. Truce of Calais	368

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO THE TREATY OF CALAIS.

1347-48. Prosperity of England after the truce	369
1348-50. The Black Death and its results	370
1351. Statute of labourers	372
Social and economic unrest	374
Religious unrest	376
The Flagellants	376
The anti-clerical movement	377
1351. First statute of provisors	377
1353. First statute of <i>pramunire</i>	378
Richard Fitzralph and the attack on the mendicants	379
1354. Ordinance of the staple	380
1352. Statute of treasons	380
1349. Foundation of the Order of the Garter	380
Dagworth's administration of Brittany	381
Hugh Calveley and Robert Knowles	382
27 Mar., 1351. Battle of the Thirty	382

	PAGE
1352. Battle of Mauron	383
Fighting round Calais	383
1352. Capture of Guînes	384
29 Aug., 1350. Battle of the Spaniards-on-the-sea	384
6 April, 1354. Preliminaries of peace signed at Guînes	385
1355. Failure of the negotiations and renewal of the war	385
Failure of John of Gaunt in Normandy	386
Sept.-Nov. Black Prince's raid in Languedoc	386
1356. Operations of John of Gaunt in Normandy in alliance with Charles of Navarre and Geoffrey of Har- court	387
9 Aug.-2 Oct. Black Prince's raid northwards to the Loire	388
19 Sept. Battle of Poitiers	390
23 Mar., 1357. Truce of Bordeaux	392
Oct. Treaty of Berwick	393
1357-71. The last years of David II.	393
1371. Accession of Robert II. in Scotland	393
1358. Preliminaries of peace signed between Edward II. and John	393
State of France after Poitiers	394
24 Mar., 1359. Treaty of London	395
The rejection of the treaty by the French	395
Nov., 1359-April, 1360. Edward III.'s invasion of Northern France, Cham- pagne and Burgundy	396
11 Jan., 1360. Treaty of Guillon	396
7 April. Siege of Paris	396
8 May. Treaty of Brétigny	396
24 Oct. Treaty of Calais	396

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR FROM THE TREATY OF CALAIS TO THE TRUCE
OF BRUGES.

Difficulties in carrying out the treaty of Calais	399
Guerilla warfare: exploits of Calveley, Pipe, and Jowet	400
16 May, 1364. Battle of Cocherel	401
29 Sept. Battle of Auray	401
1365. Treaty of Guérande	402
Exploits of the free companies: John Hawkwood	402
1361. The charters of renunciation not exchanged	402
1364. Death of King John: accession of Charles V.	403
1366. Expulsion of Peter the Cruel from Castile by Du Guesclin and the free companies	404
Feb., 1367. The Black Prince's expedition to Spain	404
3 April. Battle of Nájera	405
The Black Prince's rule in Aquitaine	406
His difficulties with the great nobles	407
Jan., 1368. The hearth tax imposed	408

	PAGE
Jan., 1369. Renewal of the war	408
Changed military and political conditions	409
Relations of England and Flanders	409
1371. Battle in Bourgneuf Bay	410
Successes of the French	411
Sept., 1370. Sack of the <i>cité</i> of Limoges	412
1371. The Black Prince's return to England with shattered health	413
1370. Futile expeditions of Lancaster and Knowles	413
Treason of Sir John Minsterworth	413
Battle of Pontvallain	414
1370-72. Exploits of Sir Owen of Wales	414
23 June, 1370. Defeat of Pembroke at La Rochelle	415
Aug. Defeat of Thomas Percy at Soubise	415
1372. Edward III.'s last military expedition	416
Expulsion of the English from Poitou and Brittany	416
July-Dec., 1373. John of Gaunt's march from Calais to Bordeaux	417
1374. Ruin of the English power in France	417
27 June, 1375. Truce of Bruges	418

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLAND DURING THE LATTER YEARS OF EDWARD III.

1361-69. Glories of the years succeeding the treaty of Calais	419
John Froissart in England	419
His picture of the life of court and people	420
The national spirit in English literature	420
Gower and Minot	420
Geoffrey Chaucer	421
The standard English language	421
Lowland Scottish	422
The national spirit in art	422
"Flowing decorated" and "perpendicular" architecture	422
Contrast between England and Scotland	423
The national spirit in popular English literature	423
William Langland	423
His picture of the condition of the poor	424
The national spirit and the universities	424
Early career of John Wycliffe	425
Spread of cultivation among the laity	426
The national spirit in English law	426
The national spirit in commerce	426
Edward III.'s family settlement	427
Marriage of the Black Prince and Joan of Kent	428
Marriages of Lionel of Antwerp with Elizabeth de Burgh and Violante Visconti	429
Lionel in Ireland	429
Statute of Kilkenny	429

1361-69.	Philippa of Clarence's marriage with the Earl of March	430
	John of Gaunt and the Duchy of Lancaster	430
	Continuation of ancient rivalries between houses now represented by branches of the royal family	431
Feb., 1371.	The great prelates of the end of Edward III.'s reign	431
	Parliament: clerical ministers superseded by laymen	432
	Clerical and anti-clerical, constitutional and court parties	433
	Edward III.'s dotage	434
	Alice Perrers	434
	Struggle of parties at court	434
	Increasing bitterness of the opposition to the courtiers	434
April-July, 1376.	The "Good Parliament"	435
	Fall of the courtiers	436
8 June.	Death of the Black Prince	437
	John of Gaunt restored to power	438
Jan., 1377.	Packed parliament, and the reaction against the Good Parliament	438
	Persistence of the clerical opposition	439
	The attack on John Wycliffe	439
19 Feb.	Wycliffe before Bishop Courtenay	439
	John of Gaunt's substantial triumph	440
21 June.	Death of Edward III.	441
	Characteristics of his age	441

APPENDIX.

ON AUTHORITIES.

(1216-1377.)

Comparative value of records and chronicles	443
Record sources for the period	443
Chancery Records :—	
Patent Rolls	444
Close Rolls*	444
Rolls of Parliament	444
Charter Rolls	445
Inquests Post-Mortem	445
Fine Rolls	445
Gascon Rolls	445
Hundred Rolls	446
Exchequer Records	446
Plea Rolls and records of the common law courts	447
Records of local courts	448
Scotch and Irish records	449
Ecclesiastical records	449
Bishops' registers	449
Monastic Cartularies	450
Papal records	450

	PAGE
Chroniclers of the period	451
St. Alban's Abbey as a school of history	451
Matthew Paris	451
Later St. Alban's chroniclers	452
Other chroniclers of Henry III.	454
Other monastic annals	455
Chroniclers of Edward I.	455
Civic chronicles	457
Chroniclers of Edward II.	457
Chroniclers of Edward III.	458
Scottish and Welsh chronicles	459
French chronicles illustrating English history	459
The three redactions of Froissart	460
Other French chroniclers of the Hundred Years' War	460
Legal literature	461
Literary aids to history	461
Modern works on the period	462
Maps	464
Bibliographies	464
Note on authorities for battle of Poitiers	464
INDEX	465

MAPS.

(AT THE END OF THE VOLUME.)

1. Map of Wales and the March at the end of the XIIIth century.
2. Map of Southern Scotland and Northern England in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.
3. Map of France in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.

CHAPTER I.

THE REGENCY OF WILLIAM MARSHAL.

WHEN John died, on October 19, 1216, the issue of the war between him and the barons was still doubtful. The arrival of Louis of France, eldest son of King Philip Augustus, had enabled the barons to win back much of the ground lost after John's early triumphs had forced them to call in the foreigner. Beyond the Humber the sturdy north-country barons, who had wrested the Great Charter from John, remained true to their principles, and had also the support of Alexander II., King of Scots. The magnates of the eastern counties were as staunch as the northerners, and the rich and populous southern shires were for the most part in agreement with them. In the west, the barons had the aid of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, the great Prince of North Wales. While ten earls fought for Louis, the royal cause was only upheld by six. The towns were mainly with the rebels, notably London and the Cinque Ports, and cities so distant as Winchester and Lincoln, Worcester and Carlisle. Yet the baronial cause excited little general sympathy. The mass of the population stood aloof, and was impartially maltreated by the rival armies.

John's son Henry had at his back the chief military resources of the country; the two strongest of the earls, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Randolph of Blundeville, Earl of Chester; the fierce lords of the Welsh March, the Mortimers, the Cantilupes, the Cliffords, the Braoses, and the Lacy's; and the barons of the West Midlands, headed by Henry of Neufbourg, Earl of Warwick, and William of Ferrars, Earl of Derby. This powerful phalanx gave to the royalists a stronger hold in the west than their opponents had in any one part of the much wider territory within their sphere of influence. There was

CHAP. no baronial counterpart to the successful raiding of the north
I. and east, which John had carried through in the last months of his life. A baronial centre, like Worcester, could not hold its own long in the west. Moreover, John had not entirely forfeited his hereditary advantages. The administrative families, whose chief representative was the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, held to their tradition of unswerving loyalty, and joined with the followers of the old king, of whom William Marshal was the chief survivor. All over England the royal castles were in safe hands, and so long as they remained unsubdued, no part of Louis' dominions was secure. The crown had used to the full its rights over minors and vacant fiefs. The subjection of the south-west was assured by the marriage of the mercenary leader, Falkes de Bréauté, to the mother of the infant Earl of Devon, and by the grant of Cornwall to the bastard of the last of the Dunstanville earls. Though Isabella, Countess of Gloucester, John's repudiated wife, was as zealous as her new husband, the Earl of Essex, against John's son, Falkes kept a tight hand over Glamorgan, on which the military power of the house of Gloucester largely depended. Randolph of Chester was custodian of the earldoms of Leicester and Richmond, of which the nominal earls, Simon de Montfort and Peter Mauclerc, were far away, the one ruling Toulouse, and the other Brittany. The band of foreign adventurers, the mainstay of John's power, was still unbroken. Ruffians though these hirelings were, they had experience, skill, and courage, and were the only professional soldiers in the country.

The vital fact of the situation was that the immense moral and spiritual forces of the Church remained on the side of the king. Innocent III. had died some months before John, but his successor, Honorius III., continued to uphold his policy. The papal legate, the Cardinal Gualo, was the soul of the royalist cause. Louis and his adherents had been excommunicated, and not a single English bishop dared to join openly the foes of Holy Church. The most that the clerical partisans of the barons could do was to disregard the interdict and continue their ministrations to the excommunicated host. The strongest English prelate, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Rome in disgrace. Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, and Hugh of Wells, Bishop

of Lincoln, were also abroad, while the Bishop of London, ^{CHAP.} William of Sainte-Mère-Eglise, was incapacitated by illness.

Several important sees, including Durham and Ely, were vacant. The ablest resident bishop, Peter des Roches of Winchester, was an accomplice in John's misgovernment.

The chief obstacle in the way of the royalists had been the character of John, and the little Henry of Winchester could have had no share in the crimes of his father. But the dead king had lately shown such rare energy that there was a danger lest the accession of a boy of nine might not weaken the cause of monarchy. The barons were largely out of hand. The war was assuming the character of the civil war of Stephen's days, and John's mercenaries were aspiring to play the part of feudal potentates. It was significant that so many of John's principal supporters were possessors of extensive franchises, like the lords of the Welsh March, who might well desire to extend these feudal immunities to their English estates. The triumph of the crown through such help might easily have resolved the united England of Henry II. into a series of lordships under a nominal king.

The situation was saved by the wisdom and moderation of the papal legate, and the loyalty of William Marshal, who forgot his interests as Earl of Pembroke in his devotion to the house of Anjou. From the moment of John's death at Newark, the cardinal and the marshal took the lead. They met at Worcester, where the tyrant was buried, and at once made preparations for the coronation of Henry of Winchester. The ceremony took place at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, on October 28, from which day the new reign was reckoned as beginning. The marshal, who had forty-three years before dubbed the "young king" Henry a knight, then for a second time admitted a young king Henry to the order of chivalry. When the king had recited the coronation oath and performed homage to the pope, Gualo anointed him and placed on his head the plain gold circlet that perforce did duty for a crown.¹

¹ There is some conflict of evidence on this point, and Dr. Stubbs, following Wendover, iv., 2, makes Peter of Winchester crown Henry. But the official account in *Fædca*, i., 145, is confirmed by *Ann. Tewkesbury*, p. 62; *Histoire de G. le Maréchal*, lines 15329-32; *Hist. des ducs de Normandie, et des rois d'Angleterre*, p. 181, and *Ann. Winchester*, p. 83. Wykes, p. 60, and *Ann. Dunstable*, p. 48, which confirm Wendover, are suspect by reason of other errors.

CHAP. Next day Henry's leading supporters performed homage, and
I. before November 1 the marshal was made justiciar.

On November 11 a great council met at Bristol. Only four earls appeared, and one of these, William of Fors, Earl of Albemarle, was a recent convert. But the presence of eleven bishops showed that the Church had espoused the cause of the little king, and a throng of western and marcher magnates made a sufficient representation of the lay baronage. The chief business was to provide for the government during the minority. Gualo withheld the temptation to adopt the method by which Innocent III. had ruled Sicily in the name of Frederick II. The king's mother was too unpopular and incompetent to anticipate the part played by Blanche of Castile during the minority of St. Louis. After the precedents set by the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the barons took the matter into their own hands. Their work of selection was not an easy one. Randolph of Chester was by far the most powerful of the royalist lords, but his turbulence and purely personal policy, not less than his excessive possessions and inordinate palatine jurisdictions, made him unsuitable for the regency. Yet had he raised any sort of claim, it would have been hardly possible to resist his pretensions.¹ Luckily, Randolph stood aside, and his withdrawal gave the aged earl marshal the position for which his nomination as justiciar at Gloucester had already marked him out. The title of *régent* was as yet unknown, either in England or France, but the style, "ruler of king and kingdom," which the barons gave to the marshal, meant something more than the ordinary position of a justiciar. William's friends had some difficulty in persuading him to accept the office. He was over seventy years of age, and felt it would be too great a burden. Induced at last by the legate to undertake the charge, from that moment he shrank from none of its responsibilities. The personal care of the king was comprised within the marshal's duties, but he delegated that branch of his work to Peter des Roches.² These two, with Gualo, controlled the whole policy of the new reign.

¹ The fears and hopes of the marshal's friends are well depicted in *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 15500-15708.

² The panegyrist of the marshal emphasises strongly the fact that Peter's charge was a delegation, *ibid.*, lines 17993-18018.

Next to them came Hubert de Burgh, John's justiciar, whom the marshal very soon restored to that office. But Hubert at once went back to the defence of Dover, and for some time took little part in general politics. CHAP. I.

On November 12, the legate and the regent issued at Bristol a confirmation of the Great Charter. Some of the most important articles accepted by John in 1215 were omitted, including the "constitutional clauses" requiring the consent of the council of barons for extraordinary taxation. Other provisions, which tied the hands of the government, were postponed for further consideration in more settled times. But with all its mutilations the Bristol charter of 1216 marked a more important moment than even the charter of Runnymede. The condemnation of Innocent III. would in all probability have prevented the temporary concession of John from becoming permanent. Love of country and love of liberty were doubtless growing forces, but they were still in their infancy, while the papal authority was something ultimate against which few Christians dared appeal. Thus the adoption by the free will of the papal legate, and the deliberate choice of the marshal of the policy of the Great Charter, converted, as has well been said, "a treaty won at the point of the sword into a manifesto of peace and sound government".¹ This wise change of policy cut away the ground from under the feet of the English supporters of Louis. The friends of the young Henry could appeal to his innocence, to his sacred unction, and to his recognition by Holy Church. They offered a programme of limited monarchy, of the redress of grievances, of vested rights preserved, and of adhesion to the good old traditions that all Englishmen respected. From that moment the Charter became a new starting-point in our history.

In strange contrast to this programme of reform, the aliens, who had opposed the charter of Runnymede, were among the lords by whose counsel and consent the charter of Bristol was issued. In its weakness the new government sought to stimulate the zeal both of the foreign mercenaries and of the loyal barons by grants and privileges which seriously entrenched upon the royal authority. Falkes de Bréauté was confirmed in the custody of a compact group of six midland shires,

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 21.

CHAP. I. besides the earldom of Devon, and the "county of the Isle of Wight,"¹ which he guarded in the interests of his wife and stepson. Savary de Mauléon, who in despair of his old master's success had crossed over to Poitou before John's death, was made warden of the castle of Bristol. Randolph of Chester was consoled for the loss of the regency by the renewal of John's recent grant of the Honour of Lancaster which was by this time definitely recognised as a shire.²

The war assumed the character of a crusade. The royalist troops wore white crosses on their garments, and were assured by the clergy of certain salvation. The cruel and purposeless ravaging of the enemy's country, which had occupied John's last months of life, became rare, though partisans, such as Falkes de Bréauté, still outvied the French in plundering monasteries and churches. The real struggle became a war of castles. Louis endeavoured to complete his conquest of the south-east by the capture of the royal strongholds, which still limited his power to the open country. At first the French prince had some successes. In November he increased his hold on the Home counties by capturing the Tower of London, by forcing Hertford to surrender, and by pressing the siege of Berkhamsted. As Christmas approached the royalists proposed a truce. Louis agreed on the condition that Berkhamsted should be surrendered, and early in 1217 both parties held councils, the royalists at Oxford and the barons at Cambridge. There was vague talk of peace, but the war was renewed, and Louis captured Hedingham and Orford in Essex, and besieged the castles of Colchester and Norwich. Then another truce until April 26 was concluded, on the condition that the royalists should surrender these two strongholds.

Both sides had need to pause. Louis, at the limit of his resources, was anxious to obtain men and money from France. He was not getting on well with his new subjects. The eastern counties grumbled at his taxes. Dissensions arose between the English and French elements in his host. The English lords resented the grants and appointments he gave to his countrymen. The French nobles professed to despise the English as traitors. When Hertford was taken, Robert

¹ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie, etc.*, p. 181.

² Tait, *Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire*, p. 180.

FitzWalter demanded that its custody should be restored to him. Louis roughly told him that Englishmen, who had betrayed their natural lord, were not to be entrusted with such charges. It was to little purpose that he promised Robert that every man should have his rights when the war was over. The prospects of ending the war grew more remote every day. The royalists took advantage of the discouragement of their opponents. The regent was lavish in promises. There should be no inquiry into bygones, and all who submitted to the young king should be guaranteed all their existing rights. The result was that a steady stream of converts began to flow from the camp of Louis to the camp of the marshal. For the first time signs of a national movement against Louis began to be manifest. It became clear that his rule meant foreign conquest.

Louis wished to return to France, but despite the truce he could only win his way to the coast by fighting. The Cinque Ports were changing their allegiance. A popular revolt had broken out in the Weald, where a warlike squire, William of Cassingham,¹ soon became a terror to the French under his nickname of Wilkin of the Weald. As Louis traversed the disaffected districts, Wilkin fell upon him near Lewes, and took prisoners two nephews of the Count of Nevers. On his further march to Winchelsea, the men of the Weald broke down the bridges behind him, while on his approach the men of Winchelsea destroyed their mills, and took to their ships as avowed partisans of King Henry. The French prince entered the empty town, and had great difficulty in keeping his army alive. "Wheat found they there," says a chronicler, "in great plenty, but they knew not how to grind it. Long time were they in such a plight that they had to crush by hand the corn of which they made their bread. They could catch no fish. Great store of nuts found they in the town ; these were their finest food."² Louis was in fact besieged by the insurgents, and was only released by a force of knights riding down from London to help him. These troops dared not travel by the direct road through the Weald, and made their way to Romney through Canterbury. Rye was strongly

¹ Mr. G. J. Turner has identified Cassingham with the modern Kensham, between Rolvenden and Sandhurst, in Kent.

² *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, etc., p. 183.

CHAP. held against them and the ships of the Cinque Ports dominated
I. the sea, so that Louis was still cut off from his friends at Romney. A relieving fleet was despatched from Boulogne, but stress of weather kept it for a fortnight at Dover, while Louis was starving at Winchelsea. At last the French ships appeared off Winchelsea. Thereupon the English withdrew, and Louis finding the way open to France returned home.

A crowd of waverers changed sides. At their head were William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, the bastard great-uncle of the little king, and William, the young marshal, the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke. The regent wandered from town to town in Sussex, receiving the submission of the peasantry, and venturing to approach as near London as Dorking. The victorious Wilkin was made Warden of the Seven Hundreds of the Weald. The greatest of the magnates of Sussex and Surrey, William, Earl Warenne, followed the example of his tenantry, and made his peace with the king. The royalists fell upon the few castles held by the barons. While one corps captured Odiham, Farnham, Chichester, and other southern strongholds, Falkes de Bréauté overran the Isle of Ely, and Randolph of Chester besieged the Leicestershire fortress of Mount Sorrel. Enguerrand de Coucy, whom Louis had left in command, remained helpless in London. His boldest act was to send a force to Lincoln, which occupied the town, but failed to take the castle. This stronghold, under its hereditary warden, the valiant old lady, Nichola de Camville,¹ had already twice withstood a siege.

Louis found no great encouragement in France, for Philip Augustus, too prudent to offend the Church, gave, but grudging support to his excommunicated son. When, on the eve of the expiration of the truce, Louis returned to England, his reinforcements comprised only 120 knights. Among them, however, were the Count of Brittany, Peter Mauclerc, anxious to press in person his rights to the earldom of Richmond, the Counts of Perche and Guînes, and many lords of Picardy, Artois and Ponthieu. Conscious that everything depended on the speedy capture of the royal castles, Louis introduced for the first time into England the *trébuchet*, a recently invented

¹ On Nichola de Camville or de la Hay see M. Petit-Dutailly in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, pp. 369-80.

CHAP.
1.

machine that cast great missiles by means of heavy counter-poises. "Great was the talk about this, for at that time few of them had been seen in France."¹ On April 22, Louis reached Dover, where the castle was still feebly beset by the French. On his nearing the shore, Wilkin of the Weald and Oliver, a bastard of King John's, burnt the huts of the French engaged in watching the castle. Afraid to land in their presence, Louis disembarked at Sandwich. Next day he went by land to Dover, but discouraged by tidings of his losses, he gladly concluded a short truce with Hubert de Burgh. He abandoned the siege of Dover, and hurried off towards Winchester, where the two castles were being severely pressed by the royalists. But his progress was impeded by his siege train, and Farnham castle blocked his way.

Saer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, joined Louis outside the walls of Farnham. Saer's motive was to persuade Louis to hasten to the relief of his castle of Mount Sorrel. The French prince was not in a position to resist pressure from a powerful supporter. He divided his army, and while the Earl of Winchester, along with the Count of Perche and Robert FitzWalter, made their way to Leicestershire, he completed his journey to Winchester, threw a fresh force into the castles, and, leaving the Count of Nevers in charge, hurried to London. There he learnt that Hubert de Burgh at Dover had broken the truce, and he at once set off to renew the siege of the stronghold which had so continually baulked his plans. But little good came of his efforts, and the much-talked-of *trébuchet* proving powerless to effect a breach, Louis had to resign himself to a weary blockade. While he was besieging Dover, Saer de Quincy had relieved Mount Sorrel, whence he marched to the help of Gilbert of Ghent, the only English baron whom Louis ventured to raise to comital rank as Earl of Lincoln. Gilbert was still striving to capture Lincoln Castle, but Nichola de Camville had resisted him from February to May. With the help of the army from Mount Sorrel, the castle and its *châtelaine* were soon reduced to great straits.

The marshal saw that the time was come to take the offensive, and resolved to raise the siege. Having no field

¹ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, etc., p. 188; cf. *English Hist. Review*, xviii. (1903), 263-64.

CHAP. I. army, he stripped his castles of their garrisons, and gave rendezvous to his barons at Newark. There the royalists rested three days, and received the blessing of Gualo and the bishops. They then set out towards Lincoln, commanded by the regent in person, the Earl of Chester, and the Bishop of Winchester, whom the legate appointed as his representative. The strong water defences of the rebel city on the south made it unadvisable for them to take the direct route towards it. Their army descended the Trent to Torksey, where it rested the night of May 19. Early next day, the eve of Trinity Sunday, it marched in four "battles" to relieve Lincoln Castle.

There were more than 600 knights besieging the castle and holding the town, and the relieving army only numbered 400 knights and 300 cross-bowmen. But the barons dared not risk a combat that might have involved them in the fate of Stephen in 1141. They retreated within the city and allowed the marshal to open up communications with the castle. The marshal's plan of battle was arranged by Peter des Roches, who was more at home in the field than in the church. The cross-bowmen under Falkes de Bréauté were thrown into the castle, and joined with the garrison in making a sally from its east gate into the streets of the town. While the barons were thus distracted, the marshal burst through the badly defended north gate. The barons taken in front and flank fought desperately, but with no success. Falkes' cross-bowmen shot down their horses, and the dismounted knights soon failed to hold their own in the open ground about the cathedral. The Count of Perche was slain by a sword-thrust through the eyehole of his helmet. The royalists chased the barons down the steep lanes which connect the upper with the lower town. When they reached level ground the baronial troops rallied, and once more strove to reascend the hill. But the town was assailed on every side, and its land defences yielded with little difficulty. The Earl of Chester poured his vassals through one of the eastern gates, and took the barons in flank. Once more they broke, and this time they rallied not again, but fled through the Wigford suburb seeking any means of escape. Some obstruction in the Bar-gate, the southern exit from the city, retarded their flight, and many of the leaders were captured. The remnant fled to London,

thinking that "every bush was full of marshals," and suffering severely from the hostility of the peasantry. Only three persons were slain in the battle, but there was a cruel massacre of the defenceless citizens after its close. So vast was the booty won by the victors that in scorn they called the fight the Fair of Lincoln.¹ CHAP. I.

Louis' prospects were still not desperate. The victorious army scattered, each man to his own house, so that the marshal was in no position to press matters to extremities. But there was a great rush to make terms with the victor, and Louis thought it prudent to abandon the hopeless siege of Dover, and take refuge with his partisans, the Londoners. Meanwhile the marshal hovered round London, hoping eventually to shut up the enemy in the capital. On June 12, the Archbishop of Tyre and three Cistercian abbots, who had come to England to preach the Crusade, persuaded both parties to accept provisional articles of peace. Louis stipulated for a complete amnesty to all his partisans; but the legate declined to grant pardon to the rebellious clerks who had refused to obey the interdict, conspicuous among whom was the firebrand Simon Langton, brother of the archbishop. Finding no compromise possible, Louis broke off the negotiations rather than abandon his friends. Gualo urged a siege of London, but the marshal saw that his resources were not adequate for such a step. Again many of his followers went home, and the court abode first at Oxford and afterwards at Gloucester. It seemed as if the war might go on for ever.

Blanche of Castile, Louis' wife, redoubled her efforts on his behalf. In response to her entreaties a hundred knights and several hundred men-at-arms took ship for England. Among the knights was the famous William des Barres, one of the heroes of Bouvines, and Theobald, Count of Blois. Eustace the Monk, a renegade clerk turned pirate, and a hero of later romance, took command of the fleet. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, August 23, Eustace sailed from Calais towards the mouth of the Thames. Kent had become royalist; the marshal and Hubert de Burgh held Sandwich, so that the long voyage up the Thames was the only way of taking succour to Louis. Next day the old earl remained on shore, but sent out Hubert

¹ For a discussion of the battle, see *English Hist. Review*, xviii. (1903), 240-65.

CHAP. with the fleet. The English let the French pass by, and then, I. manœuvring for the weather gage, tacked and assailed them from behind.¹ The fight raged round the great ship of Eustace, on which the chief French knights were embarked. Laden with stores, horses, and a ponderous *trébuchet*, it was too low in the water to manœuvre or escape. Hubert easily laid his own vessel alongside it. The English, who were better used to fighting at sea than the French, threw powdered lime into the faces of the enemy, swept the decks with their crossbow bolts and then boarded the ship, which was taken after a fierce fight. The crowd of cargo boats could offer little resistance as they beat up against the wind in their retreat to Calais; the ships containing the soldiers were more fortunate in escaping. Eustace was beheaded, and his head paraded on a pole through the streets of Canterbury.

The battle of St. Bartholomew's Day, like that of Lincoln a triumph of skill over numbers, proved decisive for the fortunes of Louis. The English won absolute control of the narrow seas, and cut off from Louis all hope of fighting his way back to France. As soon as he heard of the defeat of Eustace, he reopened negotiations with the marshal. On the 29th there was a meeting between Louis and the Earl at the gates of London. The regent had to check the ardour of his own partisans, and it was only after anxious days of deliberation that the party of moderation prevailed. On September 5 a formal conference was held on an island of the Thames near Kingston. On the 11th a definitive treaty was signed at the archbishop's house at Lambeth.

The Treaty of Lambeth repeated with little alteration the terms rejected by Louis three months before. The French prince surrendered his castles, released his partisans from their oaths to him, and exhorted all his allies, including the King of Scots and the Prince of Gwynedd, to lay down their arms. In return Henry promised that no layman should lose his inheritance by reason of his adherence to Louis, and that the baronial prisoners should be released without further payment

¹ This successful attempt of the English fleet to manœuvre for the weather gage, that is to secure a position to the windward of their opponents, is the first recorded instance of what became the favourite tactics of British admirals. For the legend of Eustace see *Witasse le Moine*, ed. Förster (1891).

CHAP.
I.

of ransom. London, despite its pertinacity in rebellion, was to retain its ancient franchises. The marshal bound himself personally to pay Louis 10,000 marks, nominally as expenses, really as a bribe to accept these terms. A few days later Louis and his French barons appeared before the legate, barefoot and in the white garb of penitents, and were reconciled to the Church. They were then escorted to Dover, whence they took ship for France. Only on the rebellious clergy did Gualo's wrath fall. The canons of St. Paul's were turned out in a body; ringleaders like Simon Langton were driven into exile, and agents of the legate traversed the country punishing clerks who had disregarded the interdict. But Honorius was more merciful than Gualo, and within a year even Simon received his pardon. The laymen of both camps forgot their differences, when Randolph of Chester and William of Ferrars fought in the crusade of Damietta, side by side with Saer of Winchester and Robert FitzWalter. The reconciliation of parties was further shown in the marriage of Hubert de Burgh to John's divorced wife, Isabella of Gloucester, a widow by the death of the Earl of Essex, and still the foremost English heiress. On November 6 the pacification was completed by the reissue of the Great Charter in what was substantially its final form. The forest clauses of the earlier issues were published in a much enlarged shape as a separate Forest Charter, which laid down the great principle that no man was to lose life or limb for hindering the king's hunting.

It is tempting to regard the defeat of Louis as a triumph of English patriotism. But it is an anachronism to read the ideals of later ages into the doings of the men of the early thirteenth century. So far as there was national feeling in England, it was arrayed against Henry. To the last the most fervently English of the barons were steadfast on the French prince's side, and the triumph of the little king had largely been procured by John's foreigners. To contemporary eyes the rebels were factious assertors of class privileges and feudal immunities. Their revolt against their natural lord brought them into conflict with the sentiment of feudal duty which was still so strong in faithful minds. And against them was a stronger force than feudal loyalty. From this religious standpoint the Canon of Barnwell best sums up the

CHAP. situation : "It was a miracle that the heir of France, who had I. won so large a part of the kingdom, was constrained to abandon the realm without hope of recovering it. It was because the hand of God was not with him. He came to England in spite of the prohibition of the Holy Roman Church, and he remained there regardless of its anathema."

The young king never forgot that he owed his throne to the pope and his legate. "When we were bereft of our father in tender years," he declared long afterwards, "when our subjects were turned against us, it was our mother, the Holy Roman Church, that brought back our realm under our power, anointed us king, crowned us, and placed us on the throne."¹ The papacy, which had secured a new hold over England by its alliance with John, made its position permanent by its zeal for the rights of his son. By identifying the monarchy with the charters, it skilfully retraced the false step which it had taken. Under the ægis of the Roman see the national spirit grew, and the next generation was to see the temper fostered by Gualo in its turn grow impatient of the papal supremacy. It was Gualo, then, who secured the confirmation of the charters. Even Louis unconsciously worked in that direction, for, had he not gained so strong a hold on the country, there would have been no reason to adopt a policy of conciliation. We must not read the history of this generation in the light of modern times, or even with the eyes of Matthew Paris.

The marshal had before him a task essentially similar to that which Henry II. had undertaken after the anarchy of Stephen's reign. It was with the utmost difficulty that the sum promised to Louis could be extracted from the warstricken and famished tillers of the soil. The exchequer was so empty that the Christmas court of the young king was celebrated at the expense of Falkes de Bréauté. Those who had fought for the king clamoured for grants and rewards, and it was necessary to humour them. For example, Randolph of Blundeville, with the earldom of Lincoln added to his Cheshire palatinate and his Lancashire Honour, had acquired a position nearly as strong as that of the Randolph of the reign of Stephen. "Adulterine castles" had grown up in such numbers that the new issue of the Charter insisted upon their destruc-

¹ *Grosseteste, Epistola*, p. 339.

tion. Even the lawful castles were held by unauthorised custodians, who refused to yield them up to the king's officers. Though Alexander, King of Scots, purchased his reconciliation with Rome by abandoning Carlisle and performing homage to Henry, the Welsh remained recalcitrant. One chieftain, Morgan of Caerleon, waged war against the marshal in Gwent, and was dislodged with difficulty. During the war Llewelyn ap Iorwerth conquered Cardigan and Carmarthen from the marchers, and it was only after receiving assurances that he might retain these districts so long as the king's minority lasted that he condescended to do homage at Worcester in March, 1218.

In the following May Stephen Langton came back from exile and threw the weight of his judgment on the regent's side. Gradually the worst difficulties were surmounted. The administrative machinery once more became effective. A new seal was cast for the king, whose documents had hitherto been stamped with the seal of the regent. Order was so far restored that Gualo returned to Italy. He was a man of high character and noble aims, caring little for personal advancement, and curbing his hot zeal against "schismatics" in his desire to restore peace to England. His memory is still commemorated in his great church of St. Andrew, at Vercelli, erected, it may be, with the proceeds of his English benefices, and still preserving the manuscript of legends of its patron saint, which its founder had sent thither from his exile.

At Candlemas, 1219, the aged regent was smitten with a mortal illness. His followers bore him up the Thames from London to his manor of Caversham, where his last hours were disturbed by the intrigues of Peter of Winchester for his succession, and the importunity of selfish clerks, clamouring for grants to their churches. He died on May 14, clad in the habit of the Knights of the Temple, in whose new church in London his body was buried, and where his effigy may still be seen. The landless younger son of a poor baron, he had supported himself in his youth by the spoils of the knights he had vanquished in the tournaments, where his successes gained him fame as the model of chivalry. The favour of Henry, the "young king," gave him political importance, and his marriage with Strongbow's daughter made him a mighty

CHAP. I. man in England, Ireland, Wales, and Normandy. Strenuous and upright, simple and dignified, the young soldier of fortune bore easily the weight of office and honour which accrued to him before the death of his first patron. Limited as was his outlook, he gave himself entirely to his master-principle of loyalty to the feudal lord whom he had sworn to obey. This simple conception enabled him to subordinate his interests as a marcher potentate to his duty to the English monarchy. It guided him in his difficult work of serving with unbending constancy a tyrant like John. It shone most clearly when in his old age he saved John's son from the consequences of his father's misdeeds. A happy accident has led to the discovery in our own days of the long poem, drawn up in commemoration of his career¹ at the instigation of his son. This important work has enabled us to enter into the marshal's character and spirit in much the same way as Joinville's *History of St. Louis* has made us familiar with the motives and attributes of the great French king. They are the two men of the thirteenth century whom we know most intimately. It is well that the two characters thus portrayed at length represent to us so much of what is best in the chivalry, loyalty, statecraft, and piety of the Middle Ages.

¹ *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, published by P. Meyer for the Soc. de l'histoire de France. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur Louis VIII.* (1894), and G. J. Turner, *Minority of Henry III.*, part i., in *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, new ser., viii. (1904), 245-95, are the best modern commentaries on the history of the marshal's regency.

CHAPTER II.

THE RULE OF HUBERT DE BURGH.,

WILLIAM MARSHAL had recognised that the regency must end with him. "There is no land," he declared; "where the people are so divided as they are in England. Were I to hand over the king to one noble, the others would be jealous. For this reason I have determined to entrust him to God and the pope. No one can blame me for this, for, if the land is not defended by the pope, I know no one who can protect it." The fortunate absence of Randolph of Chester on crusade made it easy to carry out this plan. Accordingly the king of twelve years was supposed to be capable of acting for himself. But the ultimate authority resided with the new legate Pandulf, who, without any formal designation, was the real successor of the marshal. This arrangement naturally left great power to Peter des Roches, who continued to have the custody of the king's person, and to Hubert the justiciar, who henceforth acted as Pandulf's deputy. Next to them came the Archbishop of Canterbury. Langton's share in the struggle for the charters was so conspicuous, that we do not always remember that it was as a scholar and a theologian that he acquired his chief reputation among his contemporaries. On his return from exile he found such engrossing occupation in the business of his see, that he took little part in politics for several years. His self-effacement strengthened the position of the legate.

CHAP.
II.

Pandulf was no stranger to England. As subdeacon of the Roman Church he received John's submission in 1213, and stood by his side during nearly all his later troubles. He had been rewarded by his election to the bishopric of Norwich, but was recalled to Rome before his consecration, and only came

CHAP. back to England in the higher capacity of legate on December 3, 1218, after the recall of Gualo. He had been the cause of Langton's suspension, and there was probably no love lost between him and the archbishop. It was in order to avoid troublesome questions of jurisdiction that Pandulf, at the pope's suggestion, continued to postpone his consecration as bishop, since that act would have subordinated him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But neither he nor Langton was disposed to push matters to extremities. Just as Peter des Roches balanced Hubert de Burgh, so the archbishop acted as a makeweight to the legate. When power was thus nicely equiposed, there was a natural tendency to avoid conflicting issues. In these circumstances the truce between parties, which had marked the regency, continued for the first years after Earl William's death. In all doubtful points the will of the legate seems to have prevailed. Pandulf's correspondence shows him interfering in every matter of state. He associated himself with the justiciar in the appointment of royal officials; he invoked the papal authority to put down "adulterine castles," and to prevent any baron having more than one royal stronghold in his custody; he prolonged the truce with France, and strove to pacify the Prince of North Wales; he procured the resumption of the royal domain, and rebuked Bishop Peter and the justiciar for remissness in dealing with Jewish usurers; he filled up bishoprics at his own discretion. Nor did he neglect his own interests; his kinsfolk found preferment in his English diocese, and he appropriated certain livings for the payment of his debts, "so far as could be done without offence". But in higher matters he pursued a wise policy. In recognising that the great interest of the Church was peace, he truly expressed the policy of the mild Honorius. For more than two years he kept Englishmen from flying at each other's throats. If they paid for peace by the continuance of foreign rule, it was better to be governed by Pandulf than pillaged by Falkes.

The principal events of these years were due to papal initiative.¹ Honorius looked askance on the maimed rites of

¹ H. R. Luard, *On the Relations between England and Rome during the Earlier Portion of the Reign of Henry III.* (1877), illustrates papal influence at this period.

the Gloucester coronation, and ordered a new hallowing to take place at the accustomed place and with the accustomed ceremonies. This supplementary rite was celebrated at Westminster on Whitsunday, May 17, 1220. Though Pandulf was present, he discreetly permitted the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown Henry with the diadem of St. Edward. "This coronation," says the Canon of Barnwell, "was celebrated with such good order and such splendour that the oldest magnates who were present declared that they had seen none of the king's predecessors crowned with so much goodwill and tranquillity." Nor was this the only great ecclesiastical function of the year. On July 7 Langton celebrated at Canterbury the translation of the relics of St. Thomas to a magnificent shrine at the back of the high altar. Again the legate gave precedence to the archbishop, and the presence of the young king, of the Archbishop of Reims, and the Primate of Hungary, gave distinction to the solemnity. It was a grand time for English saints. When Damietta was taken from the Mohammedans, the crusaders dedicated two of its churches to St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Edmund the King. A new saint was added to the calendar, who, if not an Englishman, had done good work for the country of his adoption. In 1220 Honorius III. canonised Hugh of Avalon, the Cistercian Bishop of Lincoln, on the report of a commission presided over by Langton himself.

No real unity of principle underlay the external tranquillity. As time went on Peter des Roches bitterly resented the growing preponderance of Hubert de Burgh. Not all the self-restraint of the legate could commend him to Langton, whose obstinate insistence upon his metropolitical authority forced Pandulf to procure bulls from Rome specifically releasing him from the jurisdiction of the primate. In these circumstances it was natural for Bishop Peter and the legate to join together against the justiciar and the archbishop. Finding that the legate was too strong for him, Langton betook himself to Rome, and remained there nearly a year. Before he went home he persuaded Honorius to promise not to confer the same benefice twice by papal provision, and to send no further legate to England during his lifetime. Pandulf was at once recalled, and left England in July, 1221, a month before his

CHAP. rival's return. He was compensated for the slight put upon II. him by receiving his long-deferred consecration to Norwich at the hands of the pope. There is small reason for believing that he was exceptionally greedy or unpopular. But his withdrawal removed an influence which had done its work for good, and was becoming a national danger. Langton henceforth could act as the real head of the English Church. In 1222, he held an important provincial council at Oseney abbey, near Oxford, where he issued constitutions, famous as the first provincial canons still recognised as binding in our ecclesiastical courts. He began once more to concern himself with affairs of state, and Hubert found him a sure ally. Bishop Peter, disgusted with his declining influence, welcomed his appointment as archbishop of the crusading Church at Damietta. He took the cross, and left England with Falkes de Bréauté as his companion. Learning that the crescent had driven the cross out of his new see, he contented himself with making the pilgrimage to Compostella, and soon found his way back to England, where he sought for opportunities to regain power.

Relieved of the opposition of Bishop Peter, Hubert insisted on depriving barons of doubtful loyalty of the custody of royal castles, and found his chief opponent in William Earl of Albemarle. In dignity and possessions, Albemarle was not ill-qualified to be a feudal leader. The son of William de Fors, of Oléron, a Poitevin adventurer of the type of Falkes de Bréauté, he represented, through his mother, the line of the counts of Aumâle, who had since the Conquest ruled over Holderness from their castle at Skipsea. The family acquired the status of English earls under Stephen, retaining their foreign title, expressed in English in the form of Albemarle, being the first house of comital rank abroad to hold an earldom with a French name unassociated with any English shire. During the civil war Albemarle's tergiversations, which rivalled those of the Geoffrey de Mandeville of Stephen's time, had been rewarded by large grants from the victorious party. Since 1219 he suffered slight upon slight, and in 1220 was stripped of the custody of Rockingham Castle. Late in that year Hubert resolved to enforce an order, promulgated in 1217, which directed Albemarle to restore to his former sub-tenant Bytham Castle, in South Kesteven, of which he was

overlord, and of which he had resumed possession on account of the treason of his vassal. The earl hurried away in indignation from the king's Christmas court, and in January, 1221, threw himself into Bytham, eager to hold it by force against the king. For a brief space he ruled over the country-side after the fashion of a baron of Stephen's time. He plundered the neighbouring towns and churches, and filled the dungeons of Castle Bytham with captives. On the pretext of attending a council at Westminster he marched southwards, but his real motive was disclosed when he suddenly attacked the castle of Fotheringhay. His men crossed the moat on the ice, and, burning down the great gate, easily overpowered the scanty garrison. "As if he were the only ruler of the kingdom," says the Canon of Barnwell, "he sent letters signed with his seal to the mayors of the cities of England, granting his peace to all merchants engaged in plying their trades, and allowing them free licence of going and coming through his castles." Nothing in the annals of the time puts more clearly this revival of the old feudal custom that each baron should lord it as king over his own estates.

Albemarle's power did not last long. He incurred the wrath of the Church, and both in Kesteven and in Northamptonshire set himself against the interests of Randolph of Chester. Before January was over Pandulf excommunicated him, and a great council granted a special scutage, "the scutage of Bytham," to equip an army to crush the rebel. Early in February a considerable force marched northwards against him. The Earl of Chester took part in the campaign, and both the legate and the king accompanied the army. Before the combined efforts of Church and State, Albemarle dared not hold his ground, and fled to Fountains, where he took sanctuary. His followers abandoned Fotheringhay, but stood a siege at Bytham. After six days this castle was captured on February 8. Even then secret sympathisers with Albemarle were able to exercise influence on his behalf, and Pandulf himself was willing to show mercy. The earl came out of sanctuary, and was pardoned on condition of taking the crusader's vow. No effort was made to insist on his going on crusade, and within a few months he was again in favour. "Thus," says Roger of Wendover, "the king set the worst of

CHAP. II. examples, and encouraged future rebellions." Randolph of Chester came out with the spoils of victory. He secured as the price of his ostentatious fidelity the custody of the Honour of Huntingdon, during the nonage of the earl, his nephew, John the Scot.

A tumult in the capital soon taught Hubert that he had other foes to fight against besides the feudal party. At a wrestling match, held on July 25, 1222, between the city and the suburbs, the citizens won an easy victory. The tenants of the Abbot of Westminster challenged the conquerors to a fresh contest on August 1 at Westminster. But the abbot's men were more anxious for revenge than good sport, and seeing that the Londoners were likely to win, they violently broke up the match. Suspecting no evil, the citizens had come without arms, and were very severely handled by their rivals. Driven back behind their walls, the Londoners clamoured for vengeance. Serlo the mercer, their mayor, a prudent and peace-loving man, urged them to seek compensation of the abbot. But the citizens preferred the advice of Constantine FitzAthulf, who insisted upon an immediate attack on the men of Westminster. Next day the abbey precincts were invaded, and much mischief was done. The alarm was the greater because Constantine was a man of high position, who had recently been a sheriff of London, and had once been a strenuous supporter of Louis of France. It was rumoured that his followers had raised the cry, "Montjoie! Saint Denis!" The quarrels of neighbouring cities were as dangerous to sound rule as the feuds of rival barons, and Hubert took instant measures to put down the sedition. With the aid of Falkes de Bréauté's mercenaries, order was restored, and Constantine was led before the justiciar. Early next day Falkes assembled his forces, and crossed the river to Southwark. He took with him Constantine and two of his supporters, and hanged all three, without form of trial, before the city knew anything about it. Then Falkes and his soldiers rushed through the streets, capturing, mutilating, and frightening away the citizens. Constantine's houses and property were seized by the king. The weak Serlo was deposed from the mayoralty, and the city taken into the king's hands. It was the last time that Hubert and Falkes worked together, and something of the violence of

the *condottiere* captain sullied the justiciar's reputation. As CHAP.
the murderer of Constantine, Hubert was henceforth pursued II.
with the undying hatred of the Londoners.

During the next two years parties became clearly defined. Hubert more and more controlled the royal policy, and strove to strengthen both his master and himself by marriage alliances. Powerful husbands were sought for the king's three sisters. On June 19, 1221, Joan, Henry's second sister, was married to the young Alexander of Scotland, at York. At the same time Hubert, a widower by Isabella of Gloucester's death, wedded Alexander's elder sister, Margaret, a match which compensated the justiciar for his loss of Isabella's lands. Four years later, Isabella, the King of Scot's younger sister, was united with Roger Bigod, the young Earl of Norfolk, a grandson of the great William Marshal, whose eldest son and successor, William Marshal the younger, was in 1224 married to the king's third sister, Eleanor. The policy of intermarriage between the royal family and the baronage was defended by the example of Philip Augustus in France, and on the ground of the danger to the royal interests if so strong a magnate as the earl marshal were enticed away from his allegiance by an alliance with a house unfriendly to Henry.¹

The futility of marriage alliances in modifying policy was already made clear by the attitude of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, the husband of Henry's bastard sister Joan. This resourceful prince had already raised himself to a high position by a state-craft which lacked neither strength nor duplicity. Though fully conscious of his position as the champion of a proud nation, and posing as the peer of the King of Scots, Llewelyn saw that it was his interest to continue the friendship with the baronial opposition which had profited him so greatly in the days of the French invasion. The pacification arranged in 1218 sat lightly upon him, and he plunged into a war with William Marshal the younger that desolated South Wales for several years. In 1219 Llewelyn devastated Pembrokeshire so cruelly that the marshal's losses were currently, though absurdly, reported to have exceeded the amount of the ransom of King Richard. There was much more fighting, but Llewelyn's progress was impeded by difficulties with his own son Griffith,

¹ *Royal Letters*, i., 244-46.

CHAP. and with the princes of South Wales, who bore impatiently
II. the growing hold of the lord of Gwynedd upon the affections
of southern Welshmen. There was war also in the middle
march, where in 1220 a royal army was assembled against
Llewelyn; but Pandulf negotiated a truce, and the only per-
manent result of this effort was the fortification of the castle
and town at Montgomery, which had become royal demesne
on the extinction of the ancient house of Bollers a few years
earlier. But peace never lasted long west of the Severn, and
in 1222 William Marshal drove Llewelyn out of Cardigan and
Carmarthen. Again there were threats of war. Llewelyn was
excommunicated, and his lands put under interdict. The
marshal complained bitterly of the poor support which Henry
gave him against the Welsh, but Hubert restored cordiality
between him and the king. In these circumstances the policy
of marrying Eleanor to the indignant marcher was a wise one.
Llewelyn however could still look to the active friendship of
Randolph of Chester. While the storm of war raged in South
Wales, the march between Cheshire and Gwynedd enjoyed
unwonted peace, and in 1223 a truce was patched up through
Randolph's mediation.

Earl Randolph needed the Welsh alliance the more because
he definitely threw in his lot with the enemies of Hubert de
Burgh. In April, 1223, a bull of Honorius III. declared Henry
competent to govern in his own name, a change which resulted
in a further strengthening of Hubert's power. Towards the
end of the year Randolph joined with William of Albemarle,
the Bishop of Winchester and Falkes de Bréauté, in an attempt
to overthrow the justiciar. The discontented barons took arms
and laid their grievances before the king. They wished, they
said, no ill to king or kingdom, but simply desired to remove
the justiciar from his counsels. Hot words passed between
the indignant Hubert and Peter des Roches, and the con-
ference broke up in confusion. The barons still remained
mutinous, and, while the king held his Christmas court at
Northampton, they celebrated the feast at Leicester. At last
Langton persuaded both parties to come to an agreement on
the basis of king's friends and barons alike surrendering their
castles and wardships. This was a substantial victory for the
party of order, and during the next few months much was

done to transfer the castles to loyal hands. Randolph himself surrendered Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth. CHAP.
II.

Comparative peace having been restored, and the judicial bench purged of feudal partisans, private persons ventured to complain of outrageous acts of "novel disseisin," or unlawful appropriation of men's lands. In the spring of 1224 the king's justices went throughout the country, hearing and deciding pleas of this sort. Sixteen acts of novel disseisin were proved against *Falkes de Bréauté*. Despite all the efforts of *Langton* and *Hubert*, that able adventurer, though stripped of some of his castles, fully maintained the position which he first acquired in the service of *John*. He was not the man to put up tamely with the piecemeal destruction of his power by legal process, and, backed up secretly by the feudal leaders, resolved to take the law into his own hands. One of the most active of the judges in hearing complaints against him was *Henry of Braybrook*. *Falkes* bade his brother, *William de Bréauté*, fall upon the justice, who had been hearing suits at *Dunstable*, and take him prisoner. *William* faithfully fulfilled his brother's orders, and on June 17 the unlucky judge was safely shut up in a dungeon of *Bedford Castle*, of which *William* had the custody, as his brother's agent. So daring an outrage on the royal authority was worse than the action of *William of Albemarle* four years before. *Hubert* and the archbishop immediately took strong measures to enforce the sanctity of the law. While *Langton* excommunicated *Falkes* and his abettors, *Hubert* hastily turned against the traitor the forces which were assembling at *Northampton* with the object of reconquering *Poitou*. *Braybrook* was captured on Monday. On Thursday the royal troops besieged *Bedford*.

The siege lasted from June 20 to August 14. The "noble castle of *Bedford*" was new, large, and fortified with an inner and outer baily, and two strong towers. *Falkes* trusted that it would hold out for a year, and had amply provided it with provisions and munitions of war. In effect, though *William de Bréauté* and his followers showed a gallant spirit, it resisted the justiciar for barely two months. When called upon to surrender the garrison answered that they would only yield at their lord's orders, and that the more as they were not bound to the king by homage or fealty. Nothing was left

CHAP. but a fight to the death. The royalists made strenuous efforts.
II. A new scutage, the "scutage of Bedford," was imposed on the realm. Meanwhile Falkes fled to his accomplice, the Earl of Chester, and afterwards took refuge with Llewelyn. But the adventurer found such cold comfort from the great men who had lured him to his ruin that he perforce made his way back to England, along with a motley band of followers, English and French, Scottish and Welsh.¹ A hue and cry was raised after him, and, like William of Albemarle, he was forced to throw himself into sanctuary, while Randolph of Chester openly joined the besiegers of Bedford. In his refuge in a church at Coventry, Falkes was persuaded to surrender to the bishop of the diocese, who handed him over to Langton.

During Falkes's wanderings his brother had been struggling valiantly against overwhelming odds. *Petrariae* and mangonels threw huge stones into the castle, and effected breaches in keep and curtain. Miners undermined the walls, while over-against the stronghold two lofty structures of wood were raised, from which the crossbowmen, who manned them, were able to command the whole of the interior. At last the castle was captured in four successive assaults. In the first the barbican was taken; in the next the outer baily was stormed; in the third the interior baily was won; and in the last the keep was split asunder. The garrison then allowed the women and captives, including the wife of Falkes and the unlucky Braybrook, to make their way to the enemies' lines. Next day the defenders themselves surrendered. The only mercy shown to these gallant men was that they were allowed to make their peace with the Church before their execution. Of the eighty prisoners, three Templars alone were spared.

Falkes threw himself upon the king's mercy, appealing to his former services to Henry and his father. He surrendered to the King the large sums of money which he had deposited with his bankers, the Templars of London, and ordered his castellans in Plympton and the other west-country castles of his wife to open their gates to the royal officers. In return for these concessions he was released from excommunication. His life was spared, but his property was confiscated, and he

¹ The names of his *familia* taken with him are in *Patent Rolls of Henry III.*, 1216-1227, pp. 461-62.

was ordered to abjure the realm. Even his wife deserted him, CHAP.
II. protesting that she had been forced to marry him against her will. On October 26 he received letters of safe conduct to go beyond sea. As he left England, he protested that he had been instigated by the English magnates in all that he had done. On landing at Fécamp he was detained by his old enemy Louis, then, by his father's death, King of France. But Louis VIII. was the last man to bear old grudges against the Norman adventurer, especially as Falkes's rising had enabled him to capture the chief towns of Poitou.

Even in his exile Falkes was still able to do mischief. He obtained his release from Louis' prison about Easter, 1225, on the pretence of going on crusade. He then made his way to Rome where he strove to excite the sympathy of Honorius III., by presenting an artful memorial, which throws a flood of light upon his character, motives, and hopes. Honorius earnestly pleaded for his restitution, but Hubert and Langton stood firm against him. They urged that the pope had been misinformed, and declined to recall the exile. Honorius sent his chaplain Otto to England, but the nuncio found it impossible to modify the policy of the advisers of the king. Falkes went back from Italy to Troyes, where he waited for a year in the hope that his sentence would be reversed. At last Otto gave up his cause in despair, and devoted himself to the more profitable work of exacting money from the English clergy. Falkes died in 1226. With him disappears from our history the lawless spirit which had troubled the land since the war between John and his barons. The foreign adventurers, of whom he was the chief, either went back in disgust to their native lands, or, like Peter de Mauley became loyal subjects and the progenitors of a harmless stock of English barons. The ten years of storm and stress were over. The administration was once more in English hands and Hubert enjoyed a few years of well-earned power.

New difficulties at once arose. The defeat of the feudalists and their Welsh allies involved heavy special taxation, and the king's honour required that an effort should be made both to wrest Poitou from Louis VIII., and to strengthen the English hold over Gascony. Besides national obligations, clergy and laity alike were still called upon to contribute towards the

CHAP. cost of crusading enterprises, and in 1226 the papal nuncio,
II. Otto, demanded that a large proportion of the revenues of the English clergy should be contributed to the papal coffers. To the Englishman of that age all extraordinary taxation was a grievance quite irrespective of its necessity. The double incidence of the royal and papal demands was met by protests which showed some tendency towards the splitting up of the victorious side into parties. It was still easy for all to unite against Otto, and the papal agent was forced to go home empty handed, for councils both of clergy and barons agreed to reject his demands. Whatever other nations might offer to the pope, argued the magnates, the realms of England and Ireland at least had a right to be freed from such impositions by reason of the tribute which John had agreed to pay to Innocent III. The demand of the king's ministers for a fifteenth to prosecute the war with France was reluctantly conceded, but only on the condition of a fresh confirmation of the charters in a form intended to bring home to the king his personal obligation to observe them. Hubert de Burgh, however, was no enthusiast for the charters. His standpoint was that of the officials of the age of Henry II. To him the re-establishment of order meant the restoration of the prerogative. There he parted company with the archbishop, who was an eager upholder of the charters, for which he was so largely responsible. The struggle against the foreigner was to be succeeded by a struggle for the charters.

In January, 1227, a council met at Oxford. The king, then nearly twenty years old, declared that he would govern the country himself, and renounced the tutelage of "the Bishop of Winchester. Henry gave himself over completely to the justiciar, whom he rewarded for his faithful service by making him Earl of Kent. In deep disgust Bishop Peter left the court to carry out his long-deferred crusading vows. For four years he was absent in Palestine, where his military talents had ample scope as one of the leaders of Frederick II.'s army, while his diplomatic skill sought, with less result, to preserve some sort of relations between the excommunicated emperor and the new pope, Gregory IX., who in this same year succeeded Honorius. In April Gregory renewed the bull of 1223 in which his predecessor recognised Henry's competence to govern.

Thus ended the first minority since the Conquest. The successful restoration of law and order when the king was a child, shewed that a strong king was not absolutely necessary for good government. From the exercise of royal authority by ministers without the personal intervention of the monarch arose the ideas of limited monarchy, the responsibility of the official, and the constitutional rights of the baronial council to appoint ministers and control the administration. We also discern, almost for the first time, the action of an inner ministerial Council which was ultimately to develop into the *consilium ordinarium* of a later age.

No sudden changes attended the royal majority. Those who had persuaded Henry to dismiss Bishop Peter had no policy beyond getting rid of a hated rival. The new Earl of Kent continued to hold office as justiciar for five years, and his ascendancy is even more marked in the years 1227 to 1232 than it had been between 1224 and 1227. Hubert still found the task of ruling England by no means easy. With the mitigation of home troubles foreign affairs assumed greater importance, and England's difficulties with France, the efforts to establish cordial relations with the empire, the ever-increasing aggressions of Llewelyn of Wales, and the chronic troubles of Ireland, involved the country in large expenses with little compensating advantage. Not less uneasy were the results of the growing encroachments of the papacy and the increasing inability of the English clergy to face them. Papal taxation, added to the burden of national taxation, induced discontent that found a ready scapegoat in the justiciar. The old and the new baronial opposition combined to denounce Hubert as the true cause of all evils. The increasing personal influence of the young king complicated the situation. In his efforts to deal with all these problems Hubert became involved in the storm of obloquy which finally brought about his fall.

At the accession of Henry III, the truce for five years concluded between his father and Philip Augustus on September 18, 1214, had still three years to run. The expedition of Louis to England might well seem to have broken it, but the prudent disavowal by Philip II. of his son's sacrilegious enterprise made it a point of policy for the French King to regard it as still in force, and neither John nor the earl marshal

CHAP. had a mind to face the enmity of the father as well as the invasion of the son. Accordingly the truce ran out its full time, and in 1220 Honorius III., ever zealous for peace between Christian sovereigns, procured its prolongation for four years. Before this had expired, the accession of Louis VIII. in 1223 raised the old enemy of King Henry to the throne of France. Louis still coveted the English throne, and desired to complete the conquest of Henry's French dominions in France. His accession soon involved England in a new struggle, luckily delayed until the worst of the disorders at home had been overcome.

Peace was impossible because Louis, like Philip, regarded the forfeiture of John as absolute, and as involving the right to deny to Henry III. a legitimate title to any of his lands beyond sea. Henry, on the other hand, was still styled Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, Count of Poitou, and Duke of Aquitaine. Claiming all that his father had held, he refused homage to Philip or Louis for such French lands as he actually possessed. For the first time since the Conquest, an English king ruled over extensive French territories without any feudal subjection to the King of France. However, Henry's French lands, though still considerable, were but a shadow of those once ruled by his father. Philip had conquered all Normandy, save the Channel Islands, and also the whole of Anjou and Touraine. For a time he also gained possession of Poitou, but before his death nearly the whole of that region had slipped from his grasp. Poitiers, alone of its great towns, remained in French hands. For the rest, both the barons and cities of Poitou acknowledged the over-lordship of their English count. Too much importance must not be ascribed to this revival of the English power. Henry claimed very little domain in Poitou, which practically was divided between the feudal nobles and the great communes. So long as they maintained a virtual freedom, they were indifferent as to their overlord. If they easily transferred their allegiance from Philip to Henry, it was because the weakness of absentee counts was less to be dreaded than the strength of a monarch near at hand. Meanwhile the barons carried on their feuds one against the other, and all alike joined in oppressing the townsmen.

During Henry's minority the crown was not strong enough

to deal with the unruly Poitevins. Seneschals quickly succeeded each other; the barons expected the office to be filled by one of their own order, and the towns, jealous of hostile neighbours, demanded the appointment of an Englishman. At last, in 1221, Savary de Mauléon, one of King John's mercenaries, a poet, and a crusader against infidels and Albigenses, was made seneschal. His English estates ensured some measure of fidelity, and his energy and experience were guarantees of his competence, though, as a younger member of the great house of Thouars, he belonged by birth to the inner circle of the Poitevin nobility, whose treachery, levity, and self-seeking were proverbial. The powerful Viscounts of Thouars were constantly kept in check by their traditional enemies the Counts of La Marche, whose representative, Hugh of Lusignan, was by far the strongest of the local barons. His cousin, and sometime betrothed, Isabella, Countess of Angoulême, the widow of King John, had left England to resume the administration of her dominions. Early in 1220 she married Hugh, justifying herself to her son on the ground that it would be dangerous to his interests if the Count of La Marche should contract an alliance with the French party. But this was mere excuse. The union of La Marche and Angoulême largely increased Count Hugh's power, and he showed perfect impartiality in pursuing his own interests by holding a balance between his stepson and the King of France. Against him neither Savary nor the Poitevin communes could contend with success. The anarchy of Poitou was an irresistible temptation to Louis VIII. "Know you," he wrote to the men of Limoges, "that John, king of England, was deprived by the unanimous judgment of his peers of all the lands which he held of our father Philip. We have now received in inheritance all our father's rights, and require you to perform the service that you owe us." While the English government weakly negotiated for the prolongation of the truce, and for the pope's intervention, Louis concluded treaties with the Poitevin barons, and made ready an army to conquer his inheritance. Foremost among his local partisans appeared Henry's stepfather.

The French army met at Tours on June 24, 1224, and marched through Thouars to La Rochelle, the strongest of the Poitevin towns, and the most devoted to England. On

CHAP. the way Louis forced Savary de Mauléon to yield up Niort,
II. and to promise to defend no other place than La Rochelle,
before which city he sat down on July 15. At first Savary
resisted vigorously. The siege of Bedford, however, prevented
the despatch of effective help from England, and Savary was
perhaps already secretly won over by Louis. Be this as it
may, the town surrendered on August 3, and with it went all
Aquitaine north of the Dordogne. Savary took service with
the conqueror, and was made warden of La Rochelle and of
the adjacent coasts, while Lusignan received the reward of his
treachery in a grant of the Isle of Oléron. When Louis re-
turned to the north, the Count of La Marche undertook the
conquest of Gascony. He soon made himself master of St.
Emilion, and of the whole of Périgord. The surrender of La
Réole opened up the passage of the Garonne, and the capture
of Bazas gave the French a foothold to the south of that river.
Only the people of Bordeaux showed any spirit in resisting
Hugh. But their resistance proved sufficient, and he with-
drew baffled before their walls.

The easiness of Louis' conquests showed their instability.
"I am sure," wrote one of Henry's officers, "that you can
easily recover all that you have lost, if you send speedy suc-
cour to these regions." After the capture of Bedford, Hubert
undertook the recovery of Poitou and the defence of Gascony.
Henry's younger brother Richard, a youth of sixteen, was ap-
pointed Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poitou, dubbed knight
by his brother, and put in nominal command of the expedition
despatched to Gascony in March, 1225. His experienced
uncle, William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, and Philip of
Aubigny, were sent with him as his chief counsellors. Received
with open arms by Bordeaux, he boasted on May 2 that he
had conquered all Gascony, save La Réole, and had received
the allegiance of every Gascon noble, except Elie Rudel, the
lord of Bergerac. The siege of La Réole, the only serious
military operation of the campaign, occupied Richard all the
summer and autumn, and it was not until November 13 that
the burgesses opened their gates. As soon as the French
had retired, the lord of Bergerac, "after the fashion of the
Poitevins," renounced Louis and professed himself the liegeman
of Earl Richard. Then the worst trouble was that Savary de

Mauléon's ships commanded the Bay of Biscay, and rendered communication between Bordeaux and England very difficult.¹ Once more the men of the Cinque Ports came to the king's aid, and there was severe fighting at sea, involving much plunder of merchant vessels and dislocation of trade.

The English sought to supplement their military successes by diplomacy. Richard of Cornwall made an alliance with the counts of Auvergne, and the home administration negotiated with all possible enemies of the French King. A proposal to affiance Henry's sister, Isabella, to Henry, King of the Romans, the infant son of Frederick II., led to no results, for the Archbishop of Cologne, the chief upholder of the scheme in Germany, was murdered, and the young king found a bride in Austria. Yet the project counteracted the negotiations set on foot by Louis to secure Frederick II. for his own side, and induced the Emperor to take up a position of neutrality. An impostor appeared in Flanders who gave out that he was the old Count Baldwin, sometime Latin Emperor of the East, who had died in prison in Bulgaria twenty years before. Baldwin's daughter, Joan, appealed to Louis for support against the false Baldwin, whereupon Henry recognised his claims and sought his alliance. Nothing but the capture and execution of the impostor prevented Henry from effecting a powerful diversion in Flanders. Peter Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, was won over by an offer of restitution to his earldom of Richmond, and by a promise that Henry would marry his daughter Iolande. Intrigues were entered into with the discontented Norman nobles, and the pope was importuned to save Henry from French assaults at the same moment that the king made a treaty of alliance with his first cousin, the heretical Raymond VII. of Toulouse. Honorius gave his ward little save sympathy and good advice. His special wish was to induce Louis to lead a French expedition into Languedoc against the Albigensian heretics. As soon as Louis resolved on this, the pope sought to prevent Henry from entering into unholy alliance with Raymond. It was the crusade of 1226, not the good-will of the Pope or the fine-drawn English negotiations, which gave Gascony a short respite. Louis VIII. died on November 8 in the course of his expedition, and the Capetian

CHAP.
II.

¹ *Patent Rolls of Henry III., 1225-1232, ii., 25.*

CHAP. II. monarchy became less dangerous during the troubles of a minority, in which his widow, Blanche, strove as regent to uphold the throne of their little son, Louis IX.

The first months of Louis IX.'s reign showed how unstable was any edifice built upon the support of the treacherous lords of Poitou. Within six weeks of Louis VIII.'s death, Hugh of Lusignan, the viscount of Thouars, Savary de Mauléon, and many other Poitevin barons, concluded treaties with Richard of Cornwall, by which in return for lavish concessions they went back to the English obedience. In the spring of 1227, however, the appearance of a French army south of the Loire caused these same lords to make fresh treaties with Blanche. Peter of Brittany also became friendly with the French regent, and gave up his daughter's English marriage. With allies so shifty, further dealings seemed hopeless. Before Easter, Richard patched up a truce and went home in disgust. The Capetians lost Poitou, but Henry failed to take advantage of his rival's weakness, and the real masters of the situation were the local barons. Fifteen more years were to elapse before the definitive French conquest of Poitou.

During the next three years the good understanding between the Bretons, the Poitevins, and the regent Blanche came to an end, and the progress of the feudal reaction against the rule of the young King of France once more excited hopes of improving Henry's position in south-western France. Henry III. was eager to win back his inheritance, though Hubert de Burgh had little faith in Poitevin promises, and, conscious of his king's weakness, managed to prolong the truce, until July 22, 1229. Three months before that, Blanche succeeded in forcing the unfortunate Raymond VII. to accept the humiliating treaty of Meaux, which assured the succession to his dominions to her second son Alfonse, who was to marry his daughter and heiress, Joan. The barons of the north and west were not yet defeated, and once more appealed to Henry to come to their aid. Accordingly, the English king summoned his vassals to Portsmouth on October 15 for a French campaign. When Henry went down to Portsmouth he found that there were not enough ships to convey his troops over sea. Thereupon he passionately denounced the justiciar as an "old traitor," and accused him of being bribed by the French queen.

Nothing but the intervention of Randolph of Chester, Hubert's persistent enemy, put an end to the undignified scene.

Count Peter of Brittany, who arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th, did homage to Henry as King of France, and received the earldom of Richmond and the title of Duke of Brittany which he had long coveted, but which the French government refused to recognise. He persuaded Henry to postpone the expedition until the following spring. When that time came Henry appointed Ralph Neville, the chancellor, and Stephen Segrave, a rising judge, as wardens of England, and on May 1, 1230, set sail from Portsmouth. It was the first time since 1213 that an English king had crossed the seas at the head of an army, and every effort was made to equip a sufficient force. Hubert the justiciar, Randolph of Chester, William the marshal, and most of the great barons personally shared in the expedition, and the ports of the Channel, the North Sea, and the Bay of Biscay were ransacked to provide adequate shipping. Many Norman vessels served as transports, apparently of their owners' free-will.

On May 3 Henry landed at St. Malo, and thence proceeded to Dinan, the meeting-place assigned for his army, the greater part of which landed at Port Blanc, a little north of Tréguier. Peter Mauclerc joined him, and a plan of operations was discussed. The moment was favourable, for a great number of the French magnates were engaged in war against Theobald, the poet-count of Champagne, and the French army, which was assembled at Angers, represented but a fraction of the military strength of the land. Fulk Paynel, a Norman baron who wished to revive the independence of the duchy, urged Henry to invade Normandy. Hubert successfully withheld this rash proposal, and also Fulk's fatal suggestion that Henry should divide his army and send two hundred knights for the invasion of Normandy. Before long the English marched through Brittany to Nantes, where they wasted six weeks. At last, on the advice of Hubert, they journeyed south into Poitou. The innate Poitevin instability had again brought round the Lusignans, the house of Thouars, and their kind to the French side, and Henry found that his own mother did her best to obstruct his progress. He was too strong to make open resistance safe, and his long progress from Nantes

CHAP. to Bordeaux was only once checked by the need to fight his
II. way. This opposition came from the little town and castle
of Mirambeau, situated in Upper Saintonge, rather more
than half-way between Saintes and Blaye.¹ From July 21 to
30 Mirambeau stoutly held out, but Henry's army was re-
inforced by the chivalry of Gascony, and by a siege-train
borrowed from Bordeaux and the loyal lords of the Garonne.
Against such appliances of warfare Mirambeau could not long
resist. On its capitulation Henry pushed on to Bordeaux.

Useless as the march through Poitou had been, it was
then repeated in the reverse way. With scarcely a week's rest,
Henry left the Gascon capital on August 10, and on Septem-
ber 15 ended his inglorious campaign at Nantes. Although
he was unable to assert himself against the faithless Poitevins,
the barons of the province were equally impotent to make
head against him. On reaching Brittany, Hubert once more
stopped further military efforts. After a few days' rest at
Nantes, Henry made his way by slow stages through the
heart of Brittany. It was said that his army had no better
occupation than teaching the local nobles to drink deep after
the English fashion. The King had wasted all his treasure,
and the poorer knights were compelled to sell or pawn their
horses and arms to support themselves. The farce ended
when the King sailed from St. Pol de Léon, and late in
October landed at Portsmouth. He left a portion of his
followers in Brittany, under the Earls of Chester and Pem-
broke. Randolph himself, as a former husband of Constance of
Brittany, had claims to certain dower lands which appertained
to Count Peter's mother-in-law. He was put in possession
of St. James de Beuvron, and thence he raided Normandy and
Anjou. By this time the coalition against the count of Cham-
pagne had broken down, and Blanche was again triumphant.
It was useless to continue a struggle so expensive and dis-
astrous, and on July 4, 1231, a truce for three years was con-
cluded between France, Brittany, and England. Peter des
Roches, then returning through France from his crusade, took
an active part in negotiating the treaty. Just as the king was
disposed to make the justiciar the scapegoat of his failure,

¹ E. Berger, *Bibl. Ecole des Chartes*, 1893, pp. 35-36, shows that Mirambeau,
not Mirebeau, was besieged by Henry; see also his *Blanche de Castille* (1895).

Hubert's old enemy appeared once more upon the scene. The responsibility for blundering must be divided among the English magnates, and not ascribed solely to their monarch. If Hubert saved Henry from reckless adventures, he certainly deserves a large share of the blame for the Poitevin fiasco.

CHAP.
II.

The grave situation at home showed the folly of this untimely revival of an active foreign policy. The same years that saw the collapse of Henry's hopes in Normandy and Poitou, witnessed troubles both in Ireland and in Wales. In both these regions the house of the Marshals was a menace to the neighbouring chieftains, and Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, made common cause against it and vigorously attacked their rivals both in Leinster and in South Wales. Nor was this the only disturbance. The summons of the Norman chieftains of Ireland to Poitou gave the king of Connaught a chance of attacking the justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey Marsh, who ultimately drove the Irish back with severe loss. Llewelyn was again as active and hostile as ever. Irritated by the growing strength of the new royal castle of Montgomery, he laid siege to it in 1228. Hubert de Burgh, then castellan of Montgomery, could only save his castle by summoning the levies of the kingdom. At their head Hubert went in person to hold the field against Llewelyn, taking the king with him. The Welsh withdrew as usual before a regular army, and Hubert and the king, late in September, marched a few miles westwards of Montgomery to the vale of Kerry, where they erected a castle. But Llewelyn soon made the English position in Kerry untenable. Many of the English lords were secretly in league with him, and the army suffered severely from lack of food. In the fighting that ensued the Welsh got the better of the English, taking prisoner William de Braose, the heir of Builth, and one of the greatest of the marcher lords. At last king and justiciar were glad to agree to demolish the new castle on receiving from Llewelyn the expenses involved in the task. The dismantled ruin was called "Hubert's folly". "And then," boasts the Welsh chronicler, "the king returned to England with shame."

In 1230 Llewelyn inflicted another slight upon his over-lord. William de Braose long remained the Welsh prince's captive, and only purchased his liberty by agreeing to wed his

CHAP. daughter to Llewelyn's son, and surrendering Builth as her
II. marriage portion. The captive had employed his leisure in
winning the love of Llewelyn's wife, Joan, Henry's half-sister.
At Easter, Llewelyn took a drastic revenge on the adulterer.
He seized William in his own castle at Builth, and on May 2
hanged him on a tree in open day in the presence of 800
witnesses. Finding that neither the king nor the marchers
moved a finger to avenge the outrage done to sister and com-
rade, Llewelyn took the aggressive in regions which had hitherto
been comparatively exempt from his assaults. In 1231 he laid
his heavy hand on all South Wales, burning down churches
full of women, as the English believed, and signalling out
for special attack the marshal's lands in Gwent and Pembroke.
Once more the king penetrated with his barons into Mid
Wales, while the pope and archbishop excommunicated
Llewelyn and put his lands under interdict. Yet neither
temporal nor spiritual arms were of avail against the Welsh-
man. Henry's only exploit in this, his second Welsh cam-
paign, was to rebuild Maud's Castle in stone. He withdrew,
and in December agreed to conclude a three years' truce, and
procure Llewelyn's absolution. Hubert once more bore the
blame of his master's failure.

On July 9, 1228, Stephen Langton died. Despite their
differences as to the execution of the charters, his removal
lost the justiciar a much-needed friend. Affairs were made
worse by the unteachable folly of the monks of Christ
Church. Regardless of the severe warning which they had
received in the storms that preceded the establishment of
Langton's authority, the chapter forthwith proceeded to the
election of their brother monk, Walter of Eynsham. The
archbishop-elect was an ignorant old monk of weak health and
doubtful antecedents, and Gregory IX. wisely refused to con-
firm the election. On the recommendation of the king and
the bishops, Gregory himself appointed as archbishop Richard,
chancellor of Lincoln, an eloquent and learned secular priest of
handsome person, whose nickname of "le Grand" was due
to his tall stature. The first Archbishop of Canterbury since
the Conquest directly nominated by the pope—for even in
Langton's case there was a form of election—Richard le Grand
at once began to quarrel with the justiciar, demanding that he

should surrender the custody of Tunbridge castle on the ground of some ancient claim of the see of Canterbury. Failing to obtain redress in England, Richard betook himself to Rome in the spring of 1231. There he regaled the pope's ears with the offences of Hubert, and of the worldly bishops who were his tools. In August, Richard's death in Italy left the Church of Canterbury for three years without a pastor.

CHAP.
II.

While Gregory IX. did more to help Henry against Louis than Honorius III., the inflexible character and lofty hierarchical ideals of this nephew of Innocent III. made his hand heavier on the English Church than that of his predecessor. Above all, Gregory's expenses in pursuing his quarrel with Frederick II. made the wealth of the English Church a sore temptation to him. With his imposition of a tax of one-tenth on all clerical property to defray the expenses of the crusade against the emperor, papal taxation in England takes a newer and severer phase. The rigour with which Master Stephen, the pope's collector, extorted the tax was bitterly resented. Not less loud was the complaint against the increasing numbers of foreign ecclesiastics forced into English benefices by papal authority, and without regard for the rights of the lawful patrons and electors. A league of aggrieved tax-payers and patrons was formed against the Roman agents. At Eastertide, 1232, bands of men, headed by a knight named Robert Twenge, who took the nickname of William Wither, despoiled the Romans of their gains, and distributed the proceeds to the poor. These doings were the more formidable from their excellent organisation, and the strong sympathy everywhere extended to them. Hubert, who hated foreign interference, did nothing to stop Twenge and his followers. His inaction further precipitated his ruin. Archbishop Richard had already poisoned the pope's mind against him, and his suspected connivance with the anti-Roman movement completed his disfavour. Bitter letters of complaint arrived in England denouncing the outrages inflicted on the friends of the apostolic see. It is hard to dissociate the pope's feeling in this matter from his rejection of the nomination of the king's chancellor, Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, to the see of Canterbury, as an illiterate politician.

The dislike of the taxes made necessary by the Welsh

CHAP. and French wars, such as the "scutage of Poitou" and the "scutage of Kerry," swelled the outcry against the justiciar. So far back as 1227 advantage had been taken of Henry's majority to exact large sums of money for the confirmation of all charters sealed during his *nonage*. The barons made it a grievance that his brother Richard was ill-provided for, and a rising in 1227 extorted a further provision for him from what was regarded as the niggardliness of the justiciar. Nor did Hubert, with all his rugged honesty, neglect his own interests. He secured for himself lucrative wardships, such as the custody for the second time of the great Gloucester earldom, and of several castles, including the not very profitable charge of Montgomery, and the important governorship of Dover. On the very eve of his downfall he was made justice of Ireland. His brother was bishop of Ely, and other kinsmen were promoted to high posts. He was satisfied that he spent all that he got in the King's service, in promoting the interests of the kingdom, but his enemies regarded him as unduly tenacious of wealth and office. All classes alike grew disgusted with the justiciar. The restoration of the malign influence of Peter of Winchester completed his ruin. The king greedily listened to the complaints of his old guardian against the minister who overshadowed the royal power. At last, on July 29, 1232, Henry plucked up courage to dismiss him.

With Hubert's fall ends the second period of Henry's reign. William Marshal expelled the armed foreigner. Hubert restored the administration to English hands. Matthew Paris puts into the mouth of a poor smith who refused to fasten fetters on the fallen minister words which, though probably never spoken, describe with sufficient accuracy Hubert's place in history : "Is he not that most faithful Hubert who so often saved England from the devastation of the foreigners and restored England to England?" Hubert was, as has been well said, perhaps the first minister since the Conquest who made patriotism a principle of policy, though it is easy in the light of later developments to read into his doings more than he really intended. But whatever his motives, the results of his action were clear. He drove away the mercenaries, humbled the feudal lords, and set limits to the pope's interference. He renewed respect for law and obedience to the law courts.

Even in the worst days of anarchy the administrative system did not break down, and the records of royal orders and judicial judgments remain almost as full in the midst of the civil war as in the more peaceful days of Hubert's rule. But it was easy enough to issue proclamations and writs. The difficulty was to get them obeyed, and the work of Hubert was to ensure that the orders of king and ministers should really be respected by his subjects. He made many mistakes. He must share the blame of the failure of the Kerry campaign, and he was largely responsible for the sorry collapse of the invasion of Poitou. He neither understood nor sympathised with Stephen Langton's zeal for the charters. A straightforward, limited, honourable man, he strove to carry out his rather old-fashioned conception of duty in the teeth of a thousand obstacles. He never had a free hand, and he never enjoyed the hearty support of any one section of his countrymen. Hated by the barons whom he kept away from power, he alienated the Londoners by his high-handed violence, and the tax-payers by his heavy exactions. The pope disliked him, the aliens plotted against him, and the king, for whom he sacrificed so much, gave him but grudging support. But the reaction which followed his retirement made many, who had rejoiced in his humiliation, bitterly regret it.

Three notable enemies of Hubert went off the stage of history within a few months of his fall. The death of Richard le Grand has already been recorded. William Marshal, the brother-in-law of the king, the gallant and successful soldier, the worthy successor of his great father, came home from Brittany early in 1231. His last act was to marry his sister, Isabella, to Richard of Cornwall. Within ten days of the wedding his body was laid beside his father in the Temple Church at London. In October, 1232, died Randolph of Blundeville, the last representative of the male stock of the old line of the Earls of Chester, and long the foremost champion of the feudal aristocracy against Hubert. The contest between them had been fought with such chivalry that the last public act of the old earl was to protect the fallen justiciar from the violence of his foes. For more than fifty years Randolph had ruled like a king over his palatine earldom ; had, like his master, his struggles with his own vassals,

CHAP. and had perforce to grant to his own barons and boroughs
II. liberties which he strove to wrest from his overlord for himself and his fellow nobles. He was not a great statesman, and hardly even a successful warrior. Yet his popular personal qualities, his energy, his long duration of power, and his enormous possessions, give him a place in history. His memory, living on long in the minds of the people, inspired a series of ballads which vied in popularity with the cycle of Robin Hood,¹ though, unfortunately, they have not come down to us. His estates were divided among his four sisters. His nephew, John the Scot, Earl of Huntingdon, received a re-grant of the Chester earldom; his Lancashire lands had already gone to his brother-in-law, William of Ferrars, Earl of Derby; other portions of his territories went to his sister, the Countess of Arundel, and the Lincoln earldom, passing through another sister, Hawise of Quincy, to her son-in-law, John of Lacy, constable of Chester, raised the chief vassal of the palatinate to comital rank. None of these heirs of a divided inheritance were true successors to Randolph. With him died the last of the great Norman houses, tenacious beyond its fellows, and surpassing in its two centuries of unbroken male descent the usual duration of the medieval baronial family. Its collapse made easier the alien invasion which threatened to undo Hubert's work.

¹ "Ich can rymes of Robyn Hode, and of Randolph erl of Chestre," *Vision of Piers Plowman*, i., 167; ii., 94.

CHAPTER III.

THE ALIEN INVASION.

WITH the dismissal of Hubert on July 29, 1232, Peter des CHAP.
Roches resumed his authority over Henry III. Mindful of past III.
failures, the bishop's aim was to rule through dependants, so
that he could pull the wires without making himself too pro-
minent. His chief agents in pursuing this policy were Peter
of Rivaux, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Paslewe. Of these,
Peter of Rivaux was a Poitevin clerk, officially described as
the bishop's nephew, but generally supposed to have been his
son. Stephen Segrave, the son of a small Leicestershire land-
holder, was a lawyer who had held many judicial and adminis-
trative posts, including the regency during the king's absence
abroad in 1230. He abandoned his original clerical profession,
received knighthood, married nobly, and was the founder of a
baronial house in the midlands. His only political principle
was obedience to the powers that were in the ascendant. Pass-
elewe, a clerk who had acted as the agent of Randolph of
Chester and Falkes of Bréauté at the Roman court, was, like
Segrave, a mere tool.

The Bishop of Winchester began to show his hand. Between June 26 and July 11, nineteen of the thirty-five sheriffdoms were bestowed on Peter of Rivaux for life. As Segrave was sheriff of five shires, and the bishop himself had acquired the shrievalty of Hampshire, this involved the trans-
ference of the administration of over two-thirds of the counties to the bishop's dependants. On the downfall of Hubert, Segrave became justiciar. He was not the equal of his pre-
decessors either in personal weight or in social position, and did not aspire to act as chief minister. The appointment of a mere lawyer to the great Norman office of state marks

CHAP. the first stage in the decline, which before long degraded
III. the justiciarship into a simple position of headship over the
judges, the chief justiceship of the next generation. Hubert's
offices and lands were divided among his supplacers. Peter of
Rivaux became keeper of wards and escheats, castellan of many
castles on the Welsh march, and the recipient of even more
offices and wardships in Ireland than in England. The custody
of the Gloucester earldom went to the Bishop of Winchester.
The last steps of the ministerial revolution were completed at
the king's Christmas court at Worcester. There Rivaux, who
had yielded up before Michaelmas most of his shrievalties, was
made treasurer, with Passeelewe as his deputy. Of the old
ministers only the chancellor, Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester,
was suffered to remain in office. Finally the king's
new advisers imported a large company of Poitevin and Breton
mercenaries, hoping with their help to maintain their newly
won position. The worst days of John seemed renewed.

The Poitevin gang called upon Hubert to render complete
accounts for the whole period of his justiciarship. When he
pleaded that King John had given him a charter of quittance,
he was told that its force had ended with the death of the
grantor. He was further required to answer for the wrongs
which Twenge's bands had inflicted on the servants of the
pope. He was accused of poisoning William Earl of Salisbury,
William Marshal, Falkes de Bréauté, and Archbishop Richard.
He had prevented the king from contracting a marriage with
a daughter of the Duke of Austria; he had dissuaded the king
from attempting to recover Normandy; he had first seduced
and then married the daughter of the King of Scots; he had
stolen from the treasury a talisman which made its possessor
invincible in war and had traitorously given it to Llewelyn of
Wales; he had induced Llewelyn to slay William de Braose;
he had won the royal favour by magic and witchcraft, and
finally he had murdered Constantine FitzAthulf.

Many of these accusations were so monstrous that they
carried with them their own refutation. It was too often the
custom in the middle ages to overwhelm an enemy with
incredible charges for it to be fair to accuse the enemies of
Hubert of any excessive malignity. The substantial innocence
of Hubert is clear, for the only charges brought against him

were either errors of judgment and policy, or incredible crimes. Nevertheless he was in such imminent danger that he took sanctuary with the canons of Merton in Surrey. Thereupon the king called upon the Londoners to march to Merton and bring their ancient foe, dead or alive, to the city. Randolph of Chester interposed between his fallen enemy and the royal vengeance. He persuaded Henry to countermand the march to Merton and to suffer the fallen justiciar to leave his refuge with some sort of safe conduct. But the king was irritated to hear that Hubert had journeyed into Essex. Again he was pursued, and once more he was forced to take sanctuary, this time in a chapel near Brentwood. From this he was dragged by some of the king's household and brought to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower. The Bishop of London complained to the king of this violation of the rights of the Church, and Hubert was allowed to return to his chapel. However, the levies of Essex surrounded the precincts, and he was soon forced by hunger to surrender. He offered to submit himself to the king's will, and was for a second time confined in the Tower. On November 10, he was brought before a not unfriendly tribunal, in which the malice of the new justiciar was tempered by the baronial instincts of the Earls of Cornwall, Warenne, Pembroke, and Lincoln. He made no effort to defend himself, and submitted absolutely to the judgment of the king. It was finally agreed that he should be allowed to retain the lands which he had inherited from his father, and that all his chattels and the lands that he had acquired himself should be forfeited to the crown. Further, he was to be kept in prison in the castle of Devizes under the charge of the four earls who had tried him.

Peter des Roches was soon in difficulties. The earls who had saved Hubert began to oppose the whole administration. Their leader was Richard, Earl of Pembroke, the second son of the great regent, and since his brother's death head of the house of Marshal. Richard was bitterly prejudiced against the king and his courtiers by an attempt to refuse him his brother's earldom. A gallant warrior, handsome and eloquent, pious, upright, and well educated, Richard, the best of the marshal's sons, stood for the rest of his short life at the head of the opposition. He incited his friends to refuse to attend a

CHAP.
III

CHAP. III. council summoned to meet at Oxford, on June 24, 1233. The king would have sought to compel their presence, had not a Dominican friar, Robert Bacon, when preaching before the court, warned him that there would be no peace in England until Bishop Peter and his son were removed from his counsels. The friar's boldness convinced him that disaffection was widespread, and he promised the magnates at a later council at London that he would, with their advice, correct whatever he found there was need to reform. Meanwhile the Poitevins brought into England fresh swarms of hirelings from their own land, and Peter des Roches urged Henry to crush rebellion in the bud. As a warning to greater offenders, Gilbert Basset was deprived of a manor which he had held since the reign of King John, and an attempt was made to lay violent hands upon his brother-in-law, Richard Siward. The two barons resisted, whereupon all their estates were transferred to Peter of Rivaux. Yet Richard Marshal still continued to hope for peace, and, after the failure of earlier councils, set off to attend another assembly fixed for August 1, at Westminster. On his way he learnt from his sister Isabella, the wife of Richard of Cornwall, that Peter des Roches was laying a trap for him. In high indignation he took horse for his Welsh estates, and prepared for rebellion.

The king summoned the military tenants to appear with horses and arms at Gloucester on the 14th. There Richard Marshal was declared a traitor and an invasion of his estates was ordered. But the king had not sufficient resources to carry out his threats, and October saw the barons once more wrangling with Henry at Westminster, and claiming that the marshal should be tried by his peers. Peter of Winchester declared that there were no peers in England as there were in France, and that in consequence the king had power to condemn any disloyal subject through his justices. This daringly unconstitutional doctrine provoked a renewed outcry. The bishops joined the secular magnates, and threatened their colleague with excommunication. A formidable civil war broke out. Siward and Basset harried the lands of the Poitevins, while the marshal made a close alliance with Llewelyn of Wales. The king still had formidable forces on his side. Richard of Cornwall was persuaded by Bishop Peter to take up arms for his brother, and

the two new earls, John the Scot of Chester, and John de Lacy CHAP. III. of Lincoln, joined the royal forces. Hubert de Burgh took advantage of the increasing confusion to escape from Devizes castle to a church in the town. Dragged back with violence to his prison, he was again, as at Brentwood, restored to sanctuary through the exertions of the bishop of the diocese. There he remained, closely watched by his foes, until October 30, when Siward and Basset drove away the guard, and took him off with them to the marshal's castle of Chepstow.

The tide of war flowed to the southern march of Wales. Llewelyn and Richard Marshal devastated Glamorgan, which, as a part of the Gloucester inheritance, was under the custody of the Bishop of Winchester. They took nearly all its castles, including that of Cardiff. Thence they subdued Usk, Abergavenny, and other neighbouring strongholds, while an independent army, including the marshal's Pembrokeshire vassals and the men of the princes of South Wales, wasted months in a vain attack on Carmarthen. The king's vassals were again summoned to Gloucester, whence Henry led them early in November towards Chepstow, the centre of the marshal's estates in Gwent. Earl Richard devastated his lands so effectively that the king could not support his army on them, and was compelled to move up the Wye valley towards the castles of Monmouth, Skenfrith, Whitecastle, and Grosmont, the strong quadrilateral of Upper Gwent which still remained in the hands of the king's friends. Marching to the most remote of these, Grosmont, on the upper Monnow, Henry spent several days in the castle, while his army lay around under canvas. On the night of November 11, the sleeping soldiers were suddenly set upon by the barons and their Welsh allies; they fled unarmed to the castle, or scattered in confusion. The assailants seized their horses, harness, arms and provisions, but refrained from slaying or capturing them. The royal forces never rallied. Many gladly went home, giving as their excuse that they were unable to fight since they had lost their equipment. Henry and his ministers withdrew to Gloucester. More convinced than ever of the treachery of Englishmen, the king entrusted the defence of the border castles to mercenaries from Poitou.

The fighting centred round Monmouth, which Richard approached on the 25th with a small company. A sudden

CHAP. sortie almost overwhelmed the little band. The marshal held III. his own heroically against twelve, until at last Baldwin of Guînes, the warden of the castle, took him prisoner. Thereupon Baldwin fell to the ground, his armour pierced by a lucky bolt from a crossbow. His followers, smitten with panic, abandoned the marshal, and bore their leader home. By that time, however, the bulk of the marshal's forces had come upon the scene. A general engagement followed, in which the Anglo-Welsh army drove the enemy back into Monmouth and took possession of the castle. This set the marshal free to march northwards and join Llewelyn in a vigorous attack upon Shrewsbury. In January, 1234, they burnt that town and retired to their own lands loaded with booty. Meanwhile Siward devastated the estates of the Poitevins and of Richard of Cornwall. Afraid to be cut off from his retreat to England the king abandoned Gloucester, where he had kept his melancholy Christmas court, and found a surer refuge in Bishop Peter's cathedral city. Thereupon Gloucestershire suffered the fate of Shropshire. "It was a wretched sight for travellers in that region to see on the highways innumerable dead bodies lying naked and unburied, to be devoured by birds of prey, and so polluting the air that they infected healthy men with mortal sickness."¹

The king swore that he would never make peace with the marshal, unless he threw himself on the royal mercy as a confessed traitor with a rope round his neck. Having, however, exhausted all his military resources, he cunningly strove to entice Richard from Wales to Ireland. The two Peters wrote to Maurice Fitzgerald, then justiciar of Ireland, and to the chief foes of the marshal, urging them to fall upon his Irish estates and capture the traitor, dead or alive. Many of the most powerful nobles of Ireland lent themselves to the conspiracy. The Lacs of Meath, his old enemies, joined with Fitzgerald, Geoffrey Marsh, and Richard de Burgh, the greatest of the Norman lords of Connaught, and the nephew of Hubert, in carrying out the plot. The confederates fell suddenly upon the marshal's estates and devastated them with fire and sword. On hearing of this attack Richard immediately left Wales, and, accompanied by only fifteen knights, took ship for Ireland. On his arrival Geoffrey Marsh, the meanest of the conspirators,

¹ *Wendover*, iv., 291.

received him with every profession of cordiality, and urged him to attack his enemies without delay. Geoffrey was an old man ; he had long held the great post of justiciar of Ireland ; and he was himself the liegeman of the marshal. Richard therefore implicitly trusted him, and forthwith took the field.

CHAP.
III.

The first warlike operations of Earl Richard were successful. After a short siege he obtained possession of Limerick, and his enemies were fain to demand a truce. Richard proposed a conference to be held on April 1, 1234, on the Curragh of Kildare. The conference proved abortive, for Geoffrey Marsh cunningly persuaded the marshal to refuse any offer of terms which the magnates would accept, and Richard found that he had been duped into taking up a position that he was not strong enough to maintain. Marsh withdrew from his side, on the ground that he could not fight against Lacy, whose sister he had married. The marshal foresaw the worst. "I know," he declared, "that this day I am delivered over to death, but it is better to die honourably for the cause of justice than to flee from the field and become a reproach to knighthood."

The forsaken Irish knights slunk away to neighbouring places of sanctuary or went over to the enemy. When the final struggle came, later on the same April 1, Richard had few followers save the faithful fifteen knights who had crossed over with him from Wales. The little band, outnumbered by more than nine to one, struggled desperately to the end. At last the marshal, unhorsed and severely wounded, fell into the hands of his enemies. They bore him, more dead than alive, to his own castle of Kilkenny, which had just been seized by the justiciar. After a few days Richard's tough constitution began to get the better of his wounds. Then his enemies, showing him the royal warranty for their acts, induced him to admit them into his castles. An ignorant or treacherous surgeon, called in by the justiciar, cauterised his wounds so severely that his sufferings became intense. He died of fever on the 16th, and was buried, as he himself had willed, in the Franciscan church at Kilkenny. No one rejoiced at the death of the hero save the traitors who had lured him to his doom and the Poitevins who had suborned them. Their victim, the weak king, mourned for his friend as David had lamented Saul and

CHAP. Jonathan.¹ The treachery of his enemies brought them little
III. profit. While Richard Marshal lay on his deathbed, a new
Archbishop of Canterbury drove the Poitevins from office.

In the heyday of the Poitevins' power the Church sounded a feeble but clear note of alarm. The pope excommunicated Henry for his treatment of Hubert de Burgh, and Agnellus of Pisa, the first English provincial of the newly arrived Franciscan order, strove to reconcile Richard Marshal with his sovereign in the course of the South-Welsh campaign. More drastic action was necessary if vague remonstrance was to be translated into fruitful action. The three years' vacancy of the see of Canterbury, after the death of Richard le Grand, paralysed the action of the Church. After the pope's rejection of the first choice of the convent of Christ Church, the chancellor, Ralph Neville, the monks elected their own prior, and him also Gregory refused as too old and incompetent. Their third election fell upon John Blunt, a theologian high in the favour of Peter des Roches, who sent him to Rome, well provided with ready money, to secure his confirmation. Simon Langton, again restored to England, and archdeacon of Canterbury, persuaded the pope to veto Blunt's appointment on the ground of his having held two benefices without a dispensation. His rejection was the first check received by the Poitevin faction. It was promptly followed by a more crushing blow. Weary of the long delay, Gregory persuaded the Christ Church monks then present at Rome to elect Edmund Rich, treasurer of Salisbury. Edmund, a scholar who had taught theology and arts with great distinction at Paris and Oxford, was still more famous for his mystical devotion, for his asceticism and holiness of life. He was however an old man, inexperienced in affairs, and, with all his gracious gifts, somewhat wanting in the tenacity and vigour which leadership involved. Yet in sending so eminent a saint to Canterbury, Rome conferred on England a service second only to that which she had rendered when she secured the archbishopric for Stephen Langton.

Before his consecration as archbishop on April 2, 1234, Edmund had already joined with his suffragans on February 2 in upholding the good fame of the marshal and in warning the king

¹ *Dunstable Ann.*, p. 137.

of the disastrous results of preferring the counsels of the Poitevins to those of his natural-born subjects. A week after his consecration Edmund succeeded in carrying out a radical change in the administration. On April 9 he declared that unless Henry drove away the Poitevins, he would forthwith pronounce him excommunicate. Yielding at once, Henry sent the Bishop of Winchester back to his diocese, and deprived Peter of Rivaux of all his offices. The followers of the two Peters shared their fate, and Henry, despatching Edmund to Wales to make peace with Llewelyn and the marshal, hurried to Gloucester in order to meet the archbishop on his return. His good resolutions were further strengthened by the news of Earl Richard's death. On arriving at Gloucester he held a council in which the ruin of the Poitevins was completed. A truce, negotiated by the archbishop with Llewelyn, was ratified. The partisans of the marshal were pardoned, even Richard Siward being forgiven his long career of plunder. Gilbert Marshal, the next brother of the childless Earl Richard, was invested with his earldom and office, and Henry himself dubbed him a knight. Hubert de Burgh was included in the comprehensive pardon. Indignant that his name and seal should have been used to cover his ministers' treachery to Earl Richard, Henry overwhelmed them with reproaches, and strove by his violence against them to purge himself from complicity in their acts. The Poitevins lurked in sanctuary, fearing for the worst. Segrave forgot his knighthood, resumed the tonsure, and took refuge in a church in Leicester. The king's worst indignation was reserved for Peter of Rivaux. Peter protested that his orders entitled him to immunity from arrest, but it was found that he wore a mail shirt under his clerical garments, and, without a word of reproach from the archbishop, he was immured in a lay prison on the pretext that no true clerk wore armour. Of the old ministers Ralph Neville alone remained in office.

With Bishop Peter's fall disappeared the last of the influences that had prevailed during the minority. The king, who felt his dignity impaired by the Poitevin domination, resolved that henceforward he would submit to no master. He soon framed a plan of government that thoroughly satisfied his jealous and exacting nature. Henceforth no magnates, either of Church or State, should stand between him and his subjects.

CHAP. He would be his own chief minister, holding in his own hands III. all the strings of policy, and acting through subordinates whose sole duty was to carry out their master's orders. Under such a system the justiciarship practically ceased to exist. The treasurership was held for short periods by royal clerks of no personal distinction. Even the chancellorship became overshadowed. Henry quarrelled with Ralph Neville in 1238, and withdrew from him the custody of the great seal, though he allowed him to retain the name and emoluments of chancellor. On Neville's death the office fell into abeyance for nearly twenty years, during which time the great seal was entrusted to seven successive keepers. Like his grandfather, Henry wished to rule in person with the help of faithful but unobtrusive subordinates. This system, which was essentially that of the French monarchy, presupposed for success the constant personal supervision of an industrious and strong-willed king. Henry III. was never a strenuous worker, and his character failed in the robustness and self-reliance necessary for personal rule. The magnates, who regarded themselves as the king's natural-born counsellors, were bitterly incensed, and hated the royal clerks as fiercely as they had disliked the ministers of his minority. Opposed by the barons, distrusted by the people, liable to be thrown over by their master at each fresh change of his caprice, the royal subordinates showed more eagerness in prosecuting their own private fortunes than in consulting the interests of the State. Thus the nominal government of Henry proved extremely ineffective. Huge taxes were raised, but little good came from them. The magnates held sullenly aloof ; the people grumbled ; the Church lamented the evil days. Yet for five and twenty years the wretched system went on, not so much by reason of its own strength as because there was no one vigorous enough to overthrow it.

The author of all this mischief was a man of some noble and many attractive qualities. Save when an occasional outburst of temper showed him a true son of John, Henry was the kindest, mildest, most amiable of men. He was the first king since William the Conqueror in whose private life the austere critics could find nothing blameworthy. His piety stands high, even when estimated by the standards of the thirteenth century. He was well educated and had a touch of the artist's tempera-

ment, loving fair churches, beautiful sculpture, delicate goldsmith's work, and richly illuminated books. He had a horror of violence, and never wept more bitter tears than when he learned how treacherously his name had been used to lure Richard Marshal to his doom. But he was extraordinarily deficient in stability of purpose. For the moment it was easy to influence him either for good or evil, but even the ablest of his counsellors found it impossible to retain any hold over him for long. One day he lavished all his affection on Hubert de Burgh ; the next he played into the hands of his enemies. In the same way he got rid of Peter des Roches, the 'preceptor of his infancy, the guide of his early manhood. Jealous, self-assertive, restless, and timid, he failed in just those qualities that his subjects expected to find in a king. Born and brought up in England, and never leaving it save for short and infrequent visits to the continent, he was proud of his English ancestors and devoted to English saints, more especially to royal saints such as Edward the Confessor and Edmund of East Anglia. Yet he showed less sympathy with English ways than many of his foreign-born predecessors. Educated under alien influences, delighting in the art, the refinement, the devotion, and the absolutist principles of foreigners, he seldom trusted a man of English birth. Too weak to act for himself, too suspicious to trust his natural counsellors, he found the friendship and advice for which he yearned in foreign favourites and kinsmen. Thus it was that the hopes excited by the fall of the Poitevins were disappointed. The alien invasion, checked for a few years, was renewed in a more dangerous shape.

During the ten years after the collapse of Peter des Roches, swarms of foreigners came to England, and spoiled the land with the king's entire good-will. Henry's marriage brought many Provençals and Savoyards to England. The renewed troubles between pope and emperor led to a renewal of Roman interference in a more exacting form. The continued intercourse with foreign states resulted in fresh opportunities of alien influence. A new attempt on Poitou brought as its only result the importation of the king's Poitevin kinsmen. The continued close relationship between the English and the French baronage involved the frequent claim of English estates and titles by men of alien birth. Even such beneficial movements as the estab-

CHAP. lishment of the mendicant orders in England, and the cosmopolitan outlook of the increasingly important academic class contributed to the spread of outlandish ideas. As wave after wave of foreigners swept over England, Englishmen involved them in a common condemnation. And all saw in the weakness of the king the very source of their power.

The first great influx of foreigners followed directly from Henry's marriage. For several years active negotiations had been going on to secure him a suitable bride. There had also at various times been talk of his selecting a wife from Brittany, Austria, Bohemia, or Scotland, and in the spring of 1235 a serious negotiation for his marriage with Joan, daughter and heiress of the Count of Ponthieu, only broke down through the opposition of the French court. Henry then sought the hand of Eleanor, a girl twelve years old, and the second of the four daughters of Raymond Berengar IV., Count of Provence, and his wife Beatrice, sister of Amadeus III., Count of Savoy. The marriage contract was signed in October. Before that time Eleanor had left Provence under the escort of her mother's brother, William, bishop-elect of Valence. On her way she spent a long period with her elder sister Margaret, who had been married to Louis IX. of France in 1234. On January 14, 1236, she was married to Henry at Canterbury by Archbishop Edmund, and crowned at Westminster on the following Sunday.

The new queen's kinsfolk quickly acquired an almost unbounded ascendancy over her weak husband. With the exception of the reigning Count Amadeus of Savoy, her eight maternal uncles were somewhat scantily provided for. The prudence of the French government prevented them from obtaining any advantage for themselves at the court of their niece the Queen of France, and they gladly welcomed the opportunity of establishing themselves at the expense of their English nephew. Self-seeking and not over-scrupulous, able, energetic, and with the vigour and resource of high-born soldiers of fortune, several of them play honourable parts in the history of their own land, and are by no means deserving of the complete condemnation meted out to them by the English annalists.¹ The

¹ For Eleanor's countrymen see Mugnier, *Les Savoyards en Angleterre au XIII^e siècle, et Pierre d'Aigueblanche, évêque d'Hereford* (1890).

bishop-elect of Valence was an able and accomplished warrior. CHAP. III.
He stayed on in England after accomplishing his mission, and with him remained his clerk, the younger son of a house of Alpine barons, Peter of Aigueblanche, whose cunning and dexterity were as attractive to Henry as the more martial qualities of his master. Weary of standing alone, the king eagerly welcomed a trustworthy adviser who was outside the entanglements of English parties, and made Bishop William his chief counsellor. It was believed that he was associated with eleven others in a secret inner circle of royal advisers, whose advice Henry pledged himself by oath to follow. Honours and estates soon began to fall thickly on William and his friends. He made himself the mouthpiece of Henry's foreign policy. When he temporarily left England, he led a force sent by the king to help Frederick II. in his war against the cities of northern Italy. His influence with Henry did much to secure for his brother, Thomas of Savoy, the hand of the elderly countess Joan of Flanders. With Thomas as the successor of Ferdinand of Portugal, the rich Flemish county, bound to England by so many political and economic ties, seemed in safe hands, and preserved from French influence. In 1238 Thomas visited England, and received a warm welcome and rich presents from the king.

Despite the establishment of the Savoyards, the Poitevin influence began to revive. Peter des Roches, who had occupied himself after his fall by fighting for Gregory IX. against the revolted Romans, returned to England in broken health in 1236, and was reconciled to the king. Peter of Rivaux was restored to favour, and made keeper of the royal wardrobe. Segrave and Passelewe again became justices and ministers. England was now the hunting-ground of any well-born Frenchmen anxious for a wider career than they could obtain at home.¹ Among the foreigners attracted to England to prosecute legal claims or to seek the royal bounty came Simon of Montfort, the second son of the famous conqueror of the Albigenses. Amice, the mother of the elder Simon, was the sister and heiress of Robert of Beaumont, the last of his line to hold the earldom of

¹ This is well illustrated by Philip de Beaumanoir's well-known romance, *Jean de Dammartin et Blonde d'Oxford* (ed. by Suchier, Soc. des anciens Textes français, and by Le Roux de Lincy, Camden Soc.).

CHAP. III. Leicester. After Amice's death her son used the title and claimed the estates of that earldom. But these pretensions were but nominal, and since 1215 Randolph of Chester had administered the Leicester lands as if his complete property. However, Amaury of Montfort, the Count of Toulouse's eldest son, ceded to his portionless younger brother his claims to the Beaumont inheritance, and in 1230 Simon went to England to push his fortunes. Young, brilliant, ambitious and attractive, he not only easily won the favour of the king, but commended himself so well to Earl Randolph that in 1231 the aged earl was induced to relax his grasp on the Leicester estates. In 1239 the last formalities of investiture were accomplished. Amaury renounced his claims, and after that Simon became Earl of Leicester and steward of England. A year before that he had secured the great marriage that he had long been seeking. In January, 1238, he was wedded to the king's own sister, Eleanor, the childless widow of the younger William Marshal. Simon was for the moment high in the affection of his brother-in-law. To the English he was simply another of the foreign favourites who turned the king's heart against his born subjects.

In 1238 Peter des Roches died. With all his faults the Poitevin was an excellent administrator at Winchester,¹ and left his estates in such a prosperous condition that Henry coveted the succession for the bishop-elect of Valence, though William already had the prospect of the prince-bishopric of Liége. But the monks of St. Swithun's refused to obey the royal order, and Henry sought to obtain his object from the pope. Gregory gave William both Liége and Winchester, but in 1239 death ended his restless plans. William's death left more room for his kinsfolk and followers. His clerk, Peter of Aigueblanche, returned to the land of promise, and in 1240 secured his consecration as Bishop of Hereford. William's brother, Peter of Savoy, lord of Romont and Faucigny, was invited to England in the same year. In 1241 he was invested with the earldom of Richmond, which a final breach with Peter of Brittany had left in the king's hands. Peter, the ablest member of his house, thus became its chief representative in England.²

¹ See H. Hall, *Pipe Roll of the Bishop of Winchester, 1207-8.*

² For Peter see Wurstemberger, *Peter II., Graf von Savoyen* (1856).

With the Provençals and Savoyards came a fresh swarm of Romans. In 1237 the first papal legates *a latere* since the recall of Pandulf landed in England. The deputy of Gregory IX. was the cardinal-deacon Otto, who in 1226 had already discharged the humbler office of nuncio in England. It was believed that the legate was sent at the special request of Henry III., and despite the remonstrances of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Those most unfriendly to the legate were won over by his irreproachable conduct. He rejected nearly all gifts. He was unwearied in preaching peace; travelled to the north to settle outstanding differences between Henry and the King of Scots, and thence hurried to the west to prolong the truce with Llewelyn. His zeal for the reformation of abuses made the canons of the national council, held under his presidency at St. Paul's on November 18, 1237, an epoch in the history of our ecclesiastical jurisprudence.

CHAP.
III.

Despite his efforts the legate remained unpopular. The pluralists and nepotists, who feared his severity, joined with the foes of all taxation and the enemies of all foreigners in denouncing the legate. To avoid the danger of poison, he thought it prudent to make his own brother his master cook. During the council of London it was necessary to escort him from his lodgings and back again with a military force. In the council itself the claim of high-born clerks to receive benefices in plurality found a spokesman in so respectable a prelate as Walter of Cantilupe, the son of a marcher baron, whom Otto had just enthroned in his cathedral at Worcester, and the legate, "fearing for his skin," was suspected of mitigating the severity of his principles to win over the less greedy of the friends of vested interests. His Roman followers knew and cared little about English susceptibilities, and feeling was so strong against them that any mischance might excite an explosion. Such an accident occurred on St. George's day, April 23, 1238, when the legate was staying with the Austin Canons of Oseney, near Oxford, while the king was six miles off at Abingdon. Some of the masters of the university went to Oseney to pay their respects to the cardinal, and were rudely repulsed by the Italian porter. Irritated at this courtesy, they returned with a host of clerks, who forced their way into the abbey. Amongst them was a poor Irish chaplain,

CHAP. III. who made his way to the kitchen to beg for food. The chief cook, the legate's brother, threw a pot of scalding broth into the Irishman's face. A clerk from the march of Wales shot the cook dead with an arrow. A fierce struggle followed, in the midst of which Otto, hastily donning the garb of his hosts, took refuge in the tower of their church, where he was besieged by the infuriated clerks, until the king sent soldiers from Abingdon to release him. Otto thereupon laid Oxford under an interdict, suspended all lectures, and put thirty masters into prison. English opinion, voiced by the diocesan, Grosseteste, held that the cardinal's servants had provoked the riot, and found little to blame in the violence of the clerks.

In 1239 Gregory IX. began his final conflict with Frederick II., and demanded the support of all Europe. As before, from 1227 to 1230, the pressure of the papal necessity was at once felt in England. The legate had to raise supplies at all costs. Crusaders were allowed to renounce their vows for ready money. Every visitation or conference became an excuse for procurations and fees. Presents were no longer rejected, but rather greedily solicited. On the pretence that it was necessary to reform the Scottish Church, "which does not recognise the Roman Church as its sole mother and metropolitan," Otto excited the indignation of Alexander II. by attempts to extend his jurisdiction to Scotland, hitherto unvisited by legates. In England his claims soon grew beyond all bearing. At last he demanded a fifth of all clerical goods to enable the pope to finance the anti-imperial crusade. Even this was more endurable than the order received from Rome that 300 clerks of Roman families should be "provided" to benefices in England, in order that Gregory might obtain the support of their relatives against Frederick. Both as feudal suzerain and as spiritual despot, the pope lorded it over England as fully as his uncle Innocent III.

Weakness, piety, and self-interest combined to make Henry III. acquiesce in the legate's exactions. "I neither wish nor dare," said he, "to oppose the lord pope in anything." The union of king and legate was irresistible. The lay opposition was slow and feeble. Gilbert Marshal, though showing no lack of spirit, was not the man to play the part which his brother Richard had filled so effectively. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who constituted himself the spokesman of the magnates, made

a special grievance of the marriage of Simon of Montfort with his sister Eleanor. England, he said, was like a vineyard with a broken hedge, so that all that went by could steal the grapes. He took arms, and subscribed the first of the long series of plans of constitutional reform that the reign was to witness, according to which the king was to be guided by a chosen body of counsellors. But at the crisis of the movement he held back, having accomplished nothing.

CHAP.
III.

There was more vigour in the ecclesiastical opposition. Robert Grosseteste,¹ a Suffolk man of humble birth, had already won for himself a position of unique distinction at Oxford and Paris. A teacher of rare force, a scholar of unexampled range, a thinker of daring originality, and a writer who had touched upon almost every known subject, he was at the height of his fame when, in 1235, his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln gave the fullest opportunities for the employment of his great gifts in the public service. He was convinced that the preoccupation of the clergy in worldly employment and the constant aggressions of the civil upon the ecclesiastical courts lay at the root of the evils of the time. His conviction brought him into conflict with the king rather than the legate, though for the moment his absorption in the cares of his diocese distracted his attention from general questions. The bishops generally had become so hostile that Otto shrank from meeting them in another council, and strove to get money by negotiating individually with the leading churchmen. The old foe of papal usurpations, Robert Twenge, renewed his agitation on behalf of the rights of patrons, and the clergy of Berkshire drew up a remonstrance against Otto's extortions.

Archbishop Edmund saw the need of opposing both legate and king; but he was hampered by his ecclesiastical and political principles, and still more, perhaps, by the magnitude of the rude task thrown upon him. He had set before himself the ideal of St. Thomas, not only in the asceticism of his private life, but in his zeal for his see and the Church. But few men were more unlike the strong-willed and bellicose martyr of Canterbury than the gentle and yielding saint of Abingdon. A plentiful crop

¹ For Grosseteste, see F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (1899).

CHAP. of quarrels, however, soon showed that Edmund had, in one
III. respect, copied only too faithfully the example of his pre-
decessor. He was engaged in a controversy of some acerbity
with the Archbishop of York, and he was involved in a long
wrangle with the monks of his cathedral, which took him to
Rome soon after the legate's arrival. He got little satisfaction
there, and found a whole sea of troubles to overwhelm him on
his return. At last came the demand of the fifth from Otto.
Edmund joined in the opposition of his brethren to this exac-
tion, but his attitude was complicated by his other difficulties.
Leaning in his weakness on the pope, he found that Gregory
was a taskmaster rather than a director. At last he paid his
fifth, but, broken in health and spirits, he was of no mind to
withstand the demands of the Roman clerks for benefices. If he
could not be another St. Thomas defending the liberties of the
Church, he could at least withdraw like his prototype from the
strife, and find a refuge in a foreign house of religion. Seeking
out St. Thomas's old haunt at Pontigny, he threw himself with
ardour into the austere Cistercian life. On the advice of his
physicians, he soon sought a healthier abode with the canons
of Soisy, in Brie, at whose house he died on November 16, 1240.
His body was buried at Pontigny in the still abiding minster
which had witnessed the devotions of Becket and Langton,
and miracles were soon wrought at his tomb. Within eight
years of his death he was declared a saint; and Henry, who
had thwarted him in life, and even opposed his canonisation,
was among the first of the pilgrims who worshipped at his
shrine. It needed a tougher spirit and a stronger character
than Edmund's to grapple with the thorny problems of his age.

The retirement of the archbishop enabled Otto to carry
through his business, and withdraw from England on January 7,
1241. On August 21 Gregory IX. died, with his arch-enemy
at the gates of Rome and all his plans for the time frustrated.
High-minded, able and devout, he wagered the whole fortunes of
the papacy on the result of his secular struggle with the emperor.
In Italy as in England, the spiritual hegemony of the Roman
see and the spiritual influence of the western Church were com-
promised by his exaltation of ecclesiastical politics over religion.

The monks of Christ Church won court favour by electing
as archbishop, Boniface of Savoy, Bishop-elect of Belley, one

of the queen's uncles. There was no real resistance to the appointment, though a prolonged vacancy in the papacy made it impossible for him to receive formal confirmation until 1243, and it was not until 1244 that he condescended to visit his new province. Meanwhile his kinsmen were carrying everything before them. Richard of Cornwall lost his first wife, Isabella, daughter of William Marshal, in 1240, an event which broke almost the last link that bound him to the baronial opposition. He withdrew himself from the troubles of English politics by going on crusade, and with him went his former enemy, Simon of Leicester. Richard was back in England early in 1242, and on November 23, 1243, his marriage with Sanchia of Provence, the younger sister of the queens of France and England, completed his conversion to the court party.

CHAP.
III.

Henry III.'s cosmopolitan instincts led him to take as much part in foreign politics as his resources allowed. In 1235 he married his sister Isabella to Frederick II., and henceforth manifested a strong interest in the affairs of his imperial brother-in-law. His relations with France were still uneasy, and he hoped to find in Frederick's support a counterpoise to the steady pressure of French hostility. All England watched with interest the progress of the emperor's arms. Peter of Savoy led an English contingent to fight for Frederick against the Milanese, and Matthew Paris, the greatest of the English chroniclers, narrates the campaign of Corte Nuova with a detail exceeding that which he allows to the military enterprises of his own king. Frederick constantly corresponded with both the king and Richard of Cornwall, and it was nothing but solicitude for the safety of the heir to the throne that led the English magnates to reject the emperor's request that Richard should receive a high command under him. Even Frederick's breach with the pope in 1239 did not destroy his friendship with Henry. The situation became extremely complicated, since Innocent IV. derived large financial support for his crusade from the unwilling English clergy, while Henry still professed to be Frederick's friend. The king allowed Otto to proclaim Frederick's excommunication in England, and then urged the legate to quit the country because the emperor strongly protested against the presence of an avowed enemy at his brother-in-law's court. Neither pope nor emperor could